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"View of Seat of Col. Roger's, Near Baltimore"/1811

BY FRANCIS GUY

Oil on canvas, 19 × 32-1/16 inches. Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, 77.53.3. Bequest of Mrs. Geneva D. Richardson.

This view of "Druid Hill" from the southeast depicts the second house built on this site by Colonel Nicholas Rogers (1753–1822). The first house was destroyed by fire in 1796. Rogers, an amateur architect of considerable merit, designed this second house, his country seat, and began its construction shortly after the 1796 fire. The Rogers family moved into the still unfinished house in the spring of 1801 when their townhouse was also destroyed by fire.

Colwill, *Francis Guy, 1760–1820*, p. 67.

Nicholas Rogers, Gentleman-Architect of Baltimore

ROBERT L. ALEXANDER

IN A WELL KNOWN LETTER TO ROBERT Mills, Benjamin Henry Latrobe declared that the gentleman-architect was a significant barrier to both the professionalization of architecture and his own success in America.¹ In fact, only a few gentleman-architects designed more than one or two buildings—Thomas Jefferson, William Thornton, Samuel Blodgett, Charles Bulfinch—and Latrobe's difficulties with some of these provided sufficient reason for his bitterness. In addition, he wrote, collusion between the gentleman and the builder worked to the further disadvantage of the professional designer. He described their particular characteristics; the gentleman knew architecture in theory, absorbing his lessons from books and travel, while the builder had practical knowledge and competence gained from the practice of his craft. Again, Latrobe was partly correct, for in Baltimore a special relationship developed between Nicholas Rogers, a gentleman-architect, and Robert Cary Long, Sr., a carpenter-builder. In certain ways, e.g., use of books, they diverged from Latrobe's generalization, for he could not take into account individual motivations and aspirations. This paper examines the works of Rogers and it gives a brief glance at those of Long in order to suggest the working relationship between the two.

Colonel Nicholas Rogers (1753–1822) was a fourth generation Baltimorean, who inherited a mercantile fortune upon his father's early death. He completed his education in Glasgow in 1774 and then traveled

for two years, largely in England and briefly in Paris. After service in the American Revolution, he continued business as a merchant and flour miller and drew rents from several pieces of property. He promoted the improvement of agriculture, and was a stockholder active in organizing the Maryland Insurance Fire Company in 1792, a major subscriber in the formation of the early Bank of Baltimore in 1795, and a charter member of the Library Company of Baltimore in 1796.² Out of these varied activities, the last was most clearly related to his architectural interests, as he occasionally borrowed books for aid in design.

Something of Rogers's taste appears immediately in representations of his first depicted work, his own home, Druid Hill, and his landscaping around the house. (cover and Fig. 1) He grouped "trees with regard for their autumnal tints and with fine effect. The gold and crimson colors were brought out into strong and beautiful relief by being backed with evergreens. The skirting woodlands were converted into bays and indentations."³ Clearly this is the picturesque taste of the landscape garden that was in high fashion while Rogers was in England. There, too, the irregular picturesque setting developed around homes of classical symmetry.

The villa itself actually was the second one on the site. Rogers built the first one following his marriage in 1783 and it burned in 1796. While the family dwelled in their city home, he rebuilt Druid Hill, 1797–1801, though he never added the wings originally planned. It was a large block, with a low basement of seven rooms, a main story with thirteen-foot ceilings, and attic rooms only over the center.⁴

On the whole, the impression given by

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FIGURE 1.

Lithograph of the garden front of Druid Hill, after a drawing by John R. Murray. (Photo: Maryland Historical Society)

the building is not so much Palladian as Gibbsian, for it uses a variety of motifs to provide the rich visual texture favored by Sir James Gibbs. (Fig. 2) The block was nearly square, the walls and corners defined by the pilasters and entablatures, apparently of the Doric order, though the dentiled frieze was more appropriate for the Ionic. The structural expression of the pilasters began in the supporting podia of the basement and rose to the blocks and panels of the balustrade. Along the sides the wall plane acquired greater interest from the three-part windows contrasted with the square windows with ears, a type usually found in the mezzanine rather than the basement. The painting of 1811 shows urns above the balustrade posts, and a photo of the 1863 alteration records a large paneled block in the middle of the balustrade. The changing accents from basement to main level to balustrade provided a shifting rhythm such as appears occasionally in the designs of Gibbs. Corner pilasters made the side into a complete composition separate from the front.

On the main and garden fronts the Mannerist-Baroque aspects of Gibbs were more evident. Behind the light entrance porch, the facade advanced in a series of overlapping planes emphasized by the rising panels

and the transparent screen of the deck balustrade. Its Baroque sequences were enhanced by heavily framed oval and semi-circular windows and the sculpted swags, all set in recessed panels. The straight-run stairway, four-columned portico, and arched doorways on main and deck levels strengthened the formal Baroque centrality of the main front.

Quite another aspect appeared in the garden front, where the recessed center was a multi-story loggia topped by a broad arch, in a rustication that contrasted with the smooth, stuccoed walls. A close parallel appears in the three-bay, rusticated central pavilion at Mt. Airy in Virginia, about 1760, a facade modeled on a plate in Gibbs. In that age the rusticated element had an appropriateness for the rural setting of the landscape garden. Lateral stair runs helped open this front to nature. The assertive forms of the massing and the textural richness testify to a Gibbsian taste on the part of Nicholas Rogers, individual and positive, even if somewhat old-fashioned in comparison with the Palladian and Adamesque.⁵

The degree of projection and recession of the central pavilion was common in the Wren-Gibbs tradition, while the contrast between the two types of stairway was equally at home in Palladian works. Late

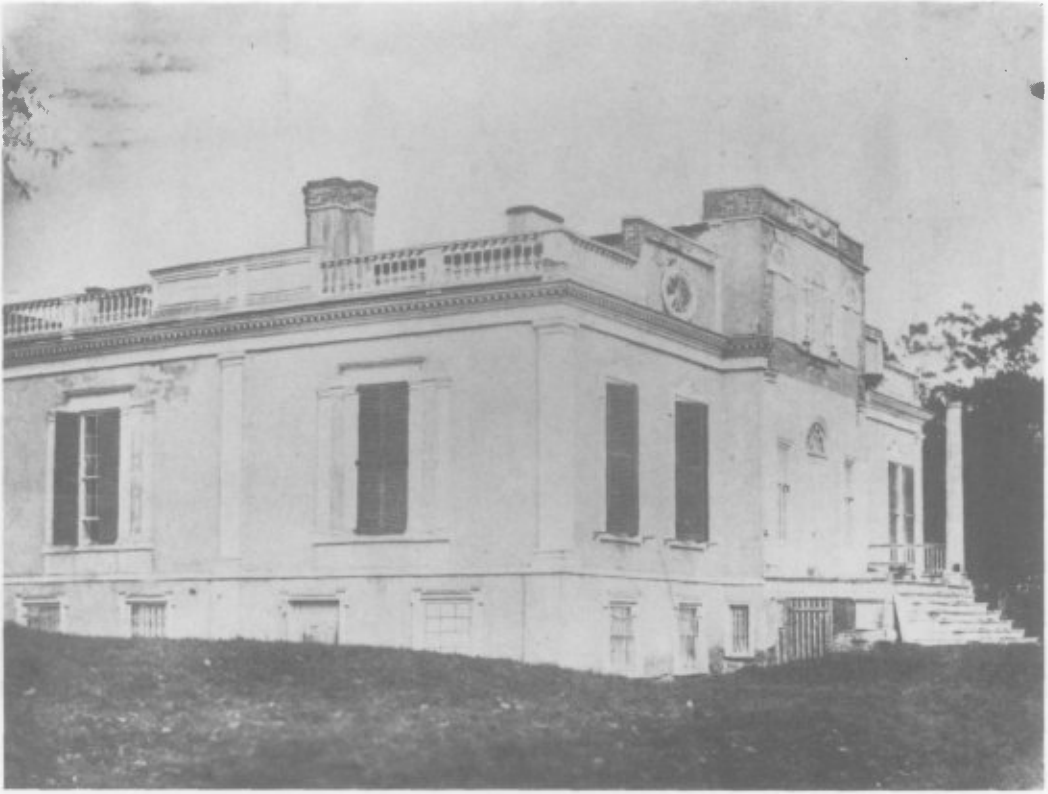


FIGURE 2.

Druid Hill in 1863 undergoing alteration. (Photo: Maryland Historical Society)

Baroque qualities appear, too, in the surviving windows. (Fig. 3) Abraham Swan provided many examples of the tabernacle window with triple keystone and a lintel bent around the upper corners and with the lower frame broadened as though into squared scrolls. Two pairs of pilasters create the tripartite window, the side elements blind and the center topped by a broad lintel and cornice; fat, leafy scrolls stretch from the lintel to the outer pilasters. When Swan used lintels with end scrolls, they were on mantlepieces.⁶

Perhaps the most modern aspects of Druid Hill appeared in its plan where the stairway was enclosed, insulating the other rooms from its traffic, yet it led fairly directly from the basement kitchen to the dining room. (Fig. 4) The lateral parts of the house were divided by fireplace walls to make three corner chambers of equal size and a study and the stairhall in the fourth corner. The unequal division of the center

created a very large and usable chamber at one end and at the other an entrance hall that was the only room that could be considered square. The preference of the Palladian Robert Morris for cubical and double-cube rooms played little part in this disposition. Nor did the small wall niches in the hall, saloon, and drawing room demonstrate much interest in the work of Robert Adam. On the whole, however, within its necessary formality the relatively compact plan seems well considered and effective for the way of life of a gentleman of the merchant class.⁷

For his older brother, Philip, Rogers designed the villa Greenwood. The only record of its appearance, a small painting on the back of a settee, shows a house one-room deep, but a virtual replica of Druid Hill. Damage to the painting obliterates the area of the deck railing and openings of the top story; the oval window farther to the side has been replaced by a rectangular one.



FIGURE 3.

Druid Hill, east corner of main story, as it appears today.

Other evident differences include a circular stairway and columns of greater massiveness.⁸ Greenwood adds to the impression that Rogers was determinedly individual in his selection and composing of motifs. The conspicuous absence of a triangular pediment, the balustrade concealing the roof, and the sequence of overlapping planes seem consciously anti-Palladian. With the pyramidal rise from the ends to the high central block and the emphatic symmetry around the axes, these houses were an idiosyncratic version of the late English Baroque.

In addition to managing his own interests, Rogers held several public offices. When the Criminal Court was organized in 1788, he was appointed a justice; in 1792 and 1793 he was judge in the Orphan's Court. After Baltimore's incorporation as a city in 1797 and the establishment of its governmental forms, Rogers was elected (by the first branch) to the second branch of the City Council. He was reelected annually, serving through 1801, and his attendance was above the average for members of this body. Often he was appointed to

special committees as well as acting as president pro tem.⁹ In the midst of this public activity and at the same time that he was building Druid Hill (and perhaps Greenwood), he designed two public buildings, the Dancing Assembly and the County Jail. In 1796 he also aided in acquiring a building and refurbishing it as a chapel to relieve the overflow in St. Paul's Episcopal Church (see below); this successful work may have helped publicize his ability in architectural design.

The Dancing Assembly resulted from private initiative. Some eighty-two gentlemen organized it in 1796, electing Rogers as one of the six Managers. (Fig. 5) In 1797 they assessed themselves to begin construction, and the building was opened in January 1799. The two-story block was essentially Palladian with its slightly projecting, pedimented center on four pilasters, the pedimental ornament, and the superposition of rectangular windows and recesses. He might have found just these elements in the Palazzo Capra, illustrated in Leone's edition of Palladio, which Rogers borrowed from the Library Company in 1797 and held

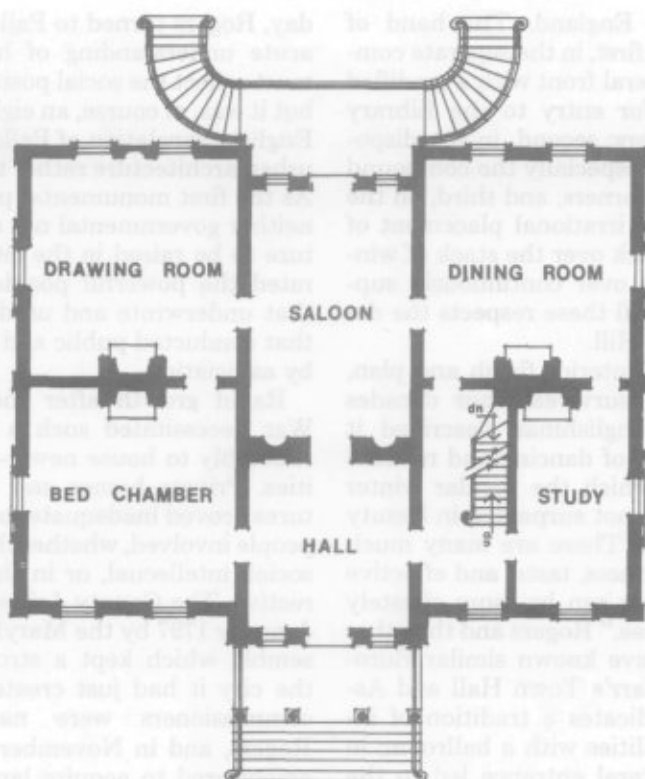


FIGURE 4.
Plan of Druid Hill, restored by Michael F. Trostel.

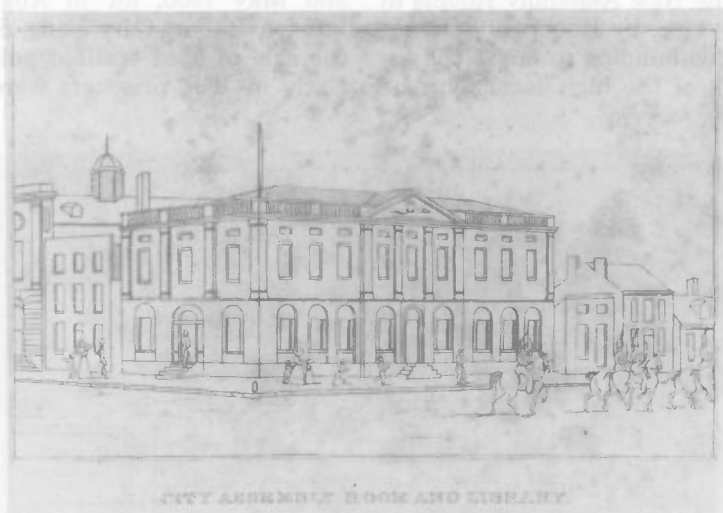


FIGURE 5.
Dancing Assembly; from Latrobe, *Picture of Baltimore*. (Photo: Courtesy, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library)

for seven months. The greater width of the Assembly Rooms and the arcaded basement and roof balustrade suggest that he

also knew John Carr's Town Hall and Assembly Room, 1776, at Newark; this building was under construction while Rogers

was traveling in England. The hand of Rogers is evident, first, in the separate composition of the lateral front with a modified Palladian motif for entry to the Library Company's quarters; second, in the disposition of pilasters, especially the compound form turning the corners; and third, on the main front, in the irrational placement of the balustrade block over the stack of windows rather than over continuously supporting wall.¹⁰ In all these respects the design recalls Druid Hill.

Concerning the interior finish and plan, little information survives. Four decades later a visiting Englishman described it briefly: "The suite of dancing and refreshment rooms, in which the regular winter balls are held, are not surpassed in beauty by any in Europe. There are many much larger; but for richness, taste, and effective decoration, nothing can be more chastely beautiful than these." Rogers and the other Managers may have known similar European buildings. Carr's Town Hall and Assembly Room indicates a tradition of including other facilities with a ballroom; in Baltimore the lateral entrance led to the first floor quarters of the Library Company. There were supper rooms also, an amenity appearing in the New Assembly Rooms in Glasgow, 1796-1798, by Robert and James Adam.¹¹ For this building to house the social interaction of the high society of the

day, Rogers turned to Palladio who had an acute understanding of how architecture must reflect the social position of the client, but it was, of course, an eighteenth-century English translation of Palladio, fashionable urban architecture rather than a rural villa. As the first monumental public building of neither governmental nor ecclesiastical nature to be raised in the city, it commemorated the powerful position of the group that underwrote and used it, an oligarchy that conducted public and private business by association.

Rapid growth after the Revolutionary War necessitated such a building as the Assembly to house newly-organized activities. Private homes and other old structures proved inadequate for the numbers of people involved, whether the activities were social, intellectual, or in the next case corrective. The County Jail was authorized in January 1797 by the Maryland General Assembly which kept a strong control over the city it had just created. (Fig. 6) Five commissioners were named, including Rogers, and in November 1798 they were empowered to acquire land and erect the building. Plans must have been ready when the ground was acquired in December 1799 and May 1800, for in August 1800 the builder, Robert Cary Long, Sr., advertised the sale of used scaffold poles and ropes. Early in 1802 prisoners were moved into

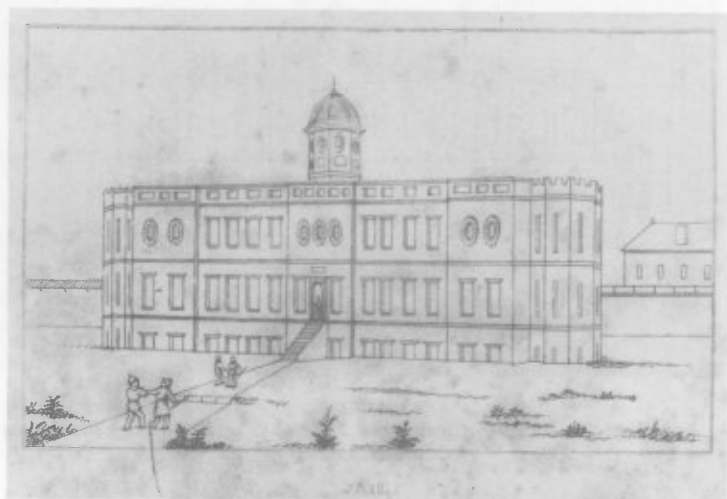


FIGURE 6.

County Jail; from Latrobe, *Picture of Baltimore*. (Photo: Courtesy, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library)

the completed jail.¹² Like some house designs of Gibbs, the structure was composed of five parts raised to the same height. Although without orders, a strong verticality was introduced through the pavilion lines, the window stacks, and the tall basement and paneled parapet. The domed tower, with the high staircase and arched entry, gave a strong centrality. The pavilions not only projected slightly, but they were distinguished by the heavily framed oval windows of the upper story. Oval windows were repeated on the tower, here with rectangular panels, as on the tower of Gibbs's St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Half octagons attached to the ends—sewers for the 400 prisoners—gave contrast through their over-all shape, slit windows, and fortress-like crenellations. Many elements evoked the taste of Rogers, especially as shown in Druid Hill—the textural richness of different building shapes, varied window forms, the spare cornice on the main level, rustication in the oval frames and arched entry, and the deliberately shifted rhythm of the sunken panels above the three pavilions. Again the roof was concealed, behind the varied parapet walls rather than the balustrades he employed elsewhere. With this building we are taken back to the English Baroque of Wren and Gibbs.

During his last year on the City Council Rogers was appointed to the Board of Commissioners authorized to purchase a lot and erect a suitable building for a city hall. This was not done, probably because in 1802 a very large number of citizens signed a petition against the action on the grounds that it was not necessary. Rogers himself held no further public office and no more buildings were constructed after his designs.¹³ Indeed, some modern writers question his authorship of the Assembly Rooms and Jail, attributing them rather to the carpenter Robert Cary Long, Sr., builder of both structures. No discussion has considered the positive evidence of design competence on the part of Rogers, whereas Long's name has been attached without question to several major public buildings.

A beautiful drawing in the Maryland Historical Society, mentioned in print and passed over each time in a single sentence, bears a legend reading, "Design of Temple for Divine Worship by N. Rogers Esqr.

1810". (Figs. 7, 8) It is large, 38¼ inches high and 24 inches wide. A single glance confirms the great competence of the drafting technique in black ink and the handling of perspective and shadows in several tones of grey wash. Rogers had absolute command of the fine lines and the joins of straight and curved lines, and a similar control in representing the recession in space of curving elements in this elevation. In pencil and grey wash the numerous lines indicating drapery folds show a curious, tentative quality in their irregularity. In contrast, large and small curves, including those of the balusters, show an even, firm line owed to the use of compasses, the point of which left still visible holes in the paper.¹⁴

Neither daring nor exotic, the architectural design is a free interpretation of the English Baroque tradition of Wren and Gibbs, perhaps filtered through someone like Batty Langley. The drawing shows a rectangular block with a circular tower rising above the facade center, all liberally ornamented with sculpture. Two window levels indicate galleries and perhaps a mezzanine foyer above the circular vestibule, an interior disposition in the pattern of Gibbs's St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The cylindrical central bay rises to become a tower of two octagonal and two circular stories topped by a steep, ovoid belfry. This is perhaps the most spectacular part of the design, for it was planned to be 160 feet tall, including the eight-foot statue of St. Paul. Rogers's love of textural richness appears in the range from smooth masonry to both smooth and rough rustication, and in the carefully spotted rows of fat balusters, large and small swags, and Greek key in relief on the tall drum of the dome. Tripartite windows on the main level repeat the form of those at Druid Hill, the side lights glazed here; with more moldings, their podia are richer than the simple projections on the house. The semi-circular windows recall the oval windows of the Jail in their placement across the mezzanine and in the top story of the tower, a triangular disposition similar to that of the balusters. They have an odd form with the sill broken and rising into the lunette; indeed, all the curvilinear windows have jutting breaks in their frames, like the semi-circular windows of Druid Hill. Along with such familiar Rogers



FIGURE 8.

Detail of temple design by Nicholas Rogers. (Photo: Maryland Historical Society)

motifs as heavily framed oval, rectangular, and arched openings, now appear elements used by Gibbs, such as forms combining straight and curved lines, urns and statues, panels and garlands, and the clock as a huge pocket watch suspended by knotted ribbons. As Gibbs employed them, however, many of these were interior devices. Some appear also in the unusual frontispiece of *The Builder's Jewel*, by Batty and Thomas Langley, where several objects hang by ribbons, including a clock and octagonal plaque with incurved corners.¹⁵ (Fig. 9)

In 1810 only one congregation in Baltimore was considering a new building, the wealthiest parish in the city, the Episcopalians of St. Paul's. Church records show the preparation for a new building at just this time. In January 1810 the Vestry granted permission for the removal of bodies from St. Paul's church yard to the new burying ground. In this year the rector reported all parish affairs in good order, and said the

time had come to turn attention "to the erection of a new Church, in the place of St. Pauls, which had now become too small..." Even more, St. Paul's "had ceased practically, to be the parish church, being simply, the church of its supporters." This condition resulted from the increased popularity of a daughter congregation, Christ Church of 1796. Its building was situated nearer the fashionable and wealthy residential area, and it was "newer and finished in a more Modern style." Finally, a collapsing retaining wall and settling of land were having adverse effects on the old building; structural faults have long been educed as an excuse for razing an old building. Then, on April 15, 1811, drawings for a new building were shown to the Vestry, and although no further details are recorded, this drawing by Rogers probably was among the ones shown.¹⁶

The Rogers family was long connected with this parish. The Colonel's grandfather put the first pews in the oldest St. Paul's,



FIGURE 9.

Frontispiece from Batty and Thomas Langley, *The Builder's Jewel*. (Photo: Courtesy, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library)

and his wife's grandfather (married to a great-aunt of the Colonel) gave the lot on which it was built. He had himself been an active member of St. Paul's congregation. Between 1784 and 1801 he served for many years as vestryman, and in 1800 was a delegate to the diocesan convention. He handled property matters for the church, and in 1795 was one of a committee of two empowered to acquire a building for a daughter congregation. Its interior furnished in "a more Modern style," probably by Rogers, this was Christ Church. With his good standing and dedication to the affairs of St. Paul's, then, Rogers had every reason to want a splendid structure for the parish church and so produced this design.¹⁷ The building actually constructed was designed by Robert Cary Long, Sr., and it will be considered presently.

Rogers seems to have gone into virtual retirement at Druid Hill, and few records of either business or personal nature appear

for the last two decades of his life. In 1803 he signed a petition to the General Assembly, requesting changes in the city government. From 1808 to 1817 he carried on proceedings against John Eager Howard over a property question that arose several years before.

In 1811 he was the subject of a handsome portrait by John Wesley Jarvis. Neighbors complained of a nuisance on one of his properties in 1813, and five years later, with his son as equal owner, he sold a lot to the city. He surveyed the world from Druid Hill, pasting in thick scrapbooks newspaper clippings on a wide range of subjects; one book has survived, three inches thick, covering the years 1816-1819.¹⁸ A final architectural design from these later years embodied some of his longtime loyalties and convictions.

At the Maryland Historical Society is a group of three drawings for an obeliskoid monument to Washington. (Figs. 10-12)

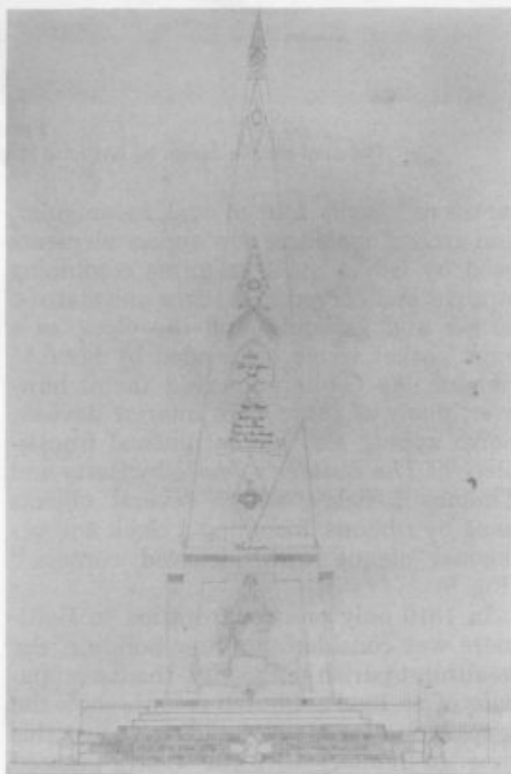


FIGURE 10.

Nicholas Rogers, project for Washington Monument, elevation, 1813; Maryland Historical Society. (Photo: Maryland Historical Society)

Undoubtedly this project was prepared for the competition of 1813 advertised by the Board of Managers of the Washington Monument in Baltimore. Although they bear no indication of authorship, these drawings—elevation, plan, sketch for relief sculpture—are certainly the work of Nicholas Rogers in drafting technique and architectural conception.¹⁹ The elevation drawing is incomplete, as many pencil lines are not inked in. It has been pricked and thus reproduces a preparatory drawing; the greatest variation from the pricked guides occurs in the figural relief, which is entirely in pencil. The plan, on the other hand, is virtually complete, pencil lines clear only in the short, scalloped stairway leading up to the platform. Both share the preliminary pencil drawing, pen and bistre delineation, and grey washes, and the plan has bistre washes as well. Grey washes dominate the drawing for the sculpture, some lines so fine and light in shade as to appear to be in pencil.

As the elevation lacks washes to indicate cast shadows, it seems quite different from the temple design, yet the linear technique shows the same fine precision and meticulous, almost compulsive concern for details, e.g., rendering of the rusticated blocks and decorative devices. The Herculean figure of the relief is much larger than the temple statues, yet in his cloak are the same tiny, multiple strokes to render folds. The system of shadows and highlight giving rotundity to the cannon bollards is identical with that used on the central bay of the temple. Parallel, feathery strokes, used for the ground in the temple drawing, reappear in the bollards and the foliage of the crossed branches on the obelisk. In the separate sketch of the relief they occur in the arrow feathering and liberty cap, and in the lion's skin and clubs they are varied to represent the different natures of these materials. The plan, a completed drawing, possesses a range of visual textures and variety of intricate forms similar to those in the temple drawing.

Like the temple design, the monument project has a tall form rising from a massive base, the whole enriched by accessories, some nineteen statues, busts, and urns. As the church tower carries the statue of St.

Paul, the monument pinnacle has an enwreathed "W", for Washington, on a delicately balanced block which carries a tree that completes the shape of the obelisk. In the plan especially we see Rogers's predilection for combining straight and curved forms. The whole area is like a large medallion, and the rectilinear platform contrasts with the circular podia for sculpture. In the elevation two wreaths are suspended by ribbons, like the clock of the church tower. And like the window sills of the temple, here every square breaks out on each side and the rhomboidal relief has similar breaks. The complications and textural richness match those of the temple and earlier works. Rather than list them, we can sum up this monument project as displaying the same architectural conception.

Correlation of plan and elevation gives a

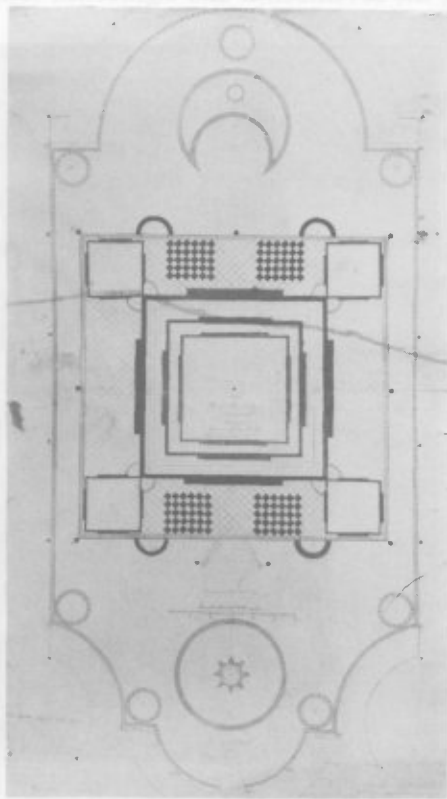


FIGURE 11.

Nicholas Rogers, project for Washington Monument, plan, 1813; Maryland Historical Society. (Photo: Maryland Historical Society)

better idea of the project. On a seventy-foot square base with rusticated walls are ten-foot square altars in the corners and steps rising to a platform seven feet above ground level. Here is the obelisk, twenty-five feet square at the base and seventy-five feet high. Its surface is covered with decorative forms, wreaths and other emblems, inscriptions, and a series of lines probably intended to represent different levels of relief that would be clear had the shading been completed. The linear shapes appear purely abstract, a series of triangles and diamonds, yet beside and below the "Pater Patriae" inscription one set of lines creates another "W." None of the intended urns, busts, and statues is represented, perhaps another aspect of incompleteness, but the lack allows the central form to dominate.

Since the Renaissance the pyramidal obelisk was a symbol of commemoration. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centu-

ries it was carried on four balls at the lower corners. Here the balls are replaced by circular podia intended to support urns. This parallel evokes the tradition of temporary structures, so common in ceremonies and processions of the preceding centuries, and helps explain the presence of strongly allegorical decoration. On the block below the main relief, for example, the serpent of eternity encircles a "W," and it has wings symbolic of the flight of time.

The relief shows especially well the allegorical temper of the age. Hercules, posed like the Apollo Belvedere, with bow and arrows and two clubs denotes armed strength. Around the liberty pole and cap are sixteen banners for the sixteen states of the Union at the time of Washington's death. Union is symbolized by the action of Hercules in binding the staves to the pole, and the banners too are knotted to the pole. In a good Picturesque aesthetic and technique, the landscape forms roll back to the

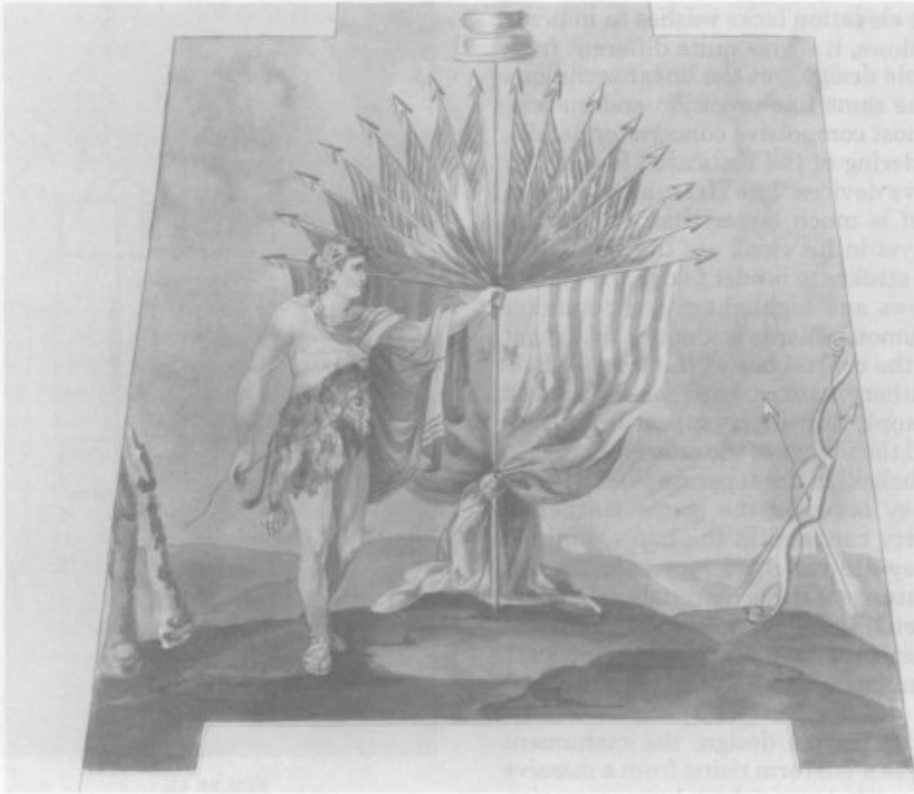


FIGURE 12.

Nicholas Rogers, project for Washington Monument, relief sculpture, 1813; Maryland Historical Society. (Photo: Maryland Historical Society)

setting sun emblematic of Washington's death. A thoroughly Federalist message, in keeping with the political sentiments of Nicholas Rogers who engaged actively in the Revolutionary War.

Rogers was in Paris when the War began, and on his return home he carried a secret message concerning French aid to America. Commissioned a major while in Paris, he served as aide to Generals Ducoudray and deKalb. Back in Baltimore, he received an honorary colonelcy for his previous activities, and when the British fleet threatened Baltimore in 1781, he was appointed to the Defense Committee. Well impressed by his service with French officers, in 1781 he made a sizable donation to aid the Marquis de Lafayette, and in 1784 he helped organize a public dinner for Lafayette and was one of five signers of the congratulatory address. When George Washington stopped overnight in Baltimore, April 17, 1789, en route to his inauguration, Rogers was a member of the reception committee and wrote the official address of congratulation and welcome. The impact on Rogers of his Revolutionary experiences was great and lasting. He served as second lieutenant in the militia newly formed by the inhabitants of Baltimore in 1797 in response to a British naval threat; his Federalist political convictions were outraged by the victory in the 1798 election of the pro-Jefferson forces of General Samuel Smith who had long opposed Washington's policies.²⁰ When the "young Federalists," who sought to revive their party and who dominated the Board of Managers, promoted the Washington Monument, Rogers's political commitment and convictions were still strong enough to bring him out of retirement in 1813 to engage in the quasi-political event.

Yet his project is rife with another variety of symbolism that particularly identifies Washington with Freemasonry. The triad of Sun, Moon, and Master Mason, shown in the Langley frontispiece, underlies the shapes of the two pools and makes the obelisk symbolic of Washington as Master Mason. The "Mosaic" floor, with black and white squares (often shown on point as here), refers to the Temple of Solomon, and the semi-circular statue bases may derive from the two columns, Boaz and Jachin, flanking the Temple entrance. The three

steps of smooth masonry refer to the first three Masonic degrees and to the three stages of human life. Rough and smooth ashlar contrast man's natural imperfection with the perfect state achieved by education and virtuous ways. The lines on the surface of the obelisk can now be seen as variants of the paired square and compasses, while the unusual shapes of the emblematic and inscribed panels as well as the over-all enclosure plan resemble the jewels worn by lodge officials. Architectural elements and mason's tools comprised specifically Masonic symbols, but Freemasonry adopted numerous others of more common usage, e.g., serpent of eternity, wings of time, acacia sprig or crossed branches of immortality. The rapid development of Masonic symbolism began in the later eighteenth century, and an orderly vocabulary of signs and meanings was finally established when Jeremy Cross published his *Masonic Chart* (New Haven, 1819), with frontispiece by Amos Doolittle. Rogers thus composed his monument at a time when interest in this language of symbols was especially strong and when it appeared in many other forms, including mourning and commemorative works. Washington, although he never actually served as the Master of a lodge, was generally understood to be the leading figure of the order. During his lifetime he officiated as a Mason in important corner-stone ceremonies, and the ceremonies for monuments to him, including the one in Baltimore, were centered around Masonic ritual. Thus, the Washington commemorated by Rogers was not the soldier, but the peaceful leader who altruistically sacrificed his personal interests for the needs of his countrymen. It was Washington at the height of his public career, not only presiding at the foundation rites for the Capitol, the prime symbol of the new political system, but as *Pater Patriae*, creator and president of the new republic.²¹

How Rogers knew this symbolism is a mystery, for not a bit of evidence, beyond these drawings, demonstrates his interest or participation in the order. Nevertheless, his project mirrors the understanding of the patriotic mission of the Masons in general and Washington in particular that was widespread in an age that customarily ex-

pressed itself in rich allegories. His access to such imagery as the Langley plate and others illustrating Masonic emblems may also explain some apparently non-symbolic elements in his monument and temple designs, e.g., suspension of various objects by bow-knotted ribbons, panels with incurved corners.

We can be quite sure that the plan, at least, was exhibited with the projects by J.-J. Ramée, Maximilian Godefroy, and Robert Mills. Some of its dirt and tears must be owed to early viewers, for Rogers pencilled a note in the lower right, "please Ladies & Gentlemen to keep your god fingers off from the paper." Rogers was a man of strong opinions. In his scrapbook of newspaper clippings, an editorial of 1817 bemoans the lack of a suitable memorial to Washington in the nation's capital, and a news item of the same year records the failure of a plan for voluntary subscriptions to raise one. Rogers wrote lengthy paragraphs on ingratitude and on his hero's virtues and greatness and the need for a monument to keep them alive to future generations. Thus, he provided a statement of his own motivation for this project.

The drawings and buildings by Rogers show a specific taste, one based on English architecture. There is some Palladianism, but scarcely that of Sir William Chambers. It was far more dependent on the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century English Baroque. To be sure, Rogers's theoretical grasp of architecture was flawed, for he did not comprehend effective use of forms for structural expression; he was most concerned with the decorative organization and used elements of interior ornament on the exterior. Nevertheless, there was a relatively consistent taste, an ability to see the three-dimensional relationships in architecture, and a fine drafting technique, owed perhaps to some training in military engineering. Similar patterns of distributing decorative motifs and identical forms, some of them rare or unique, recurred in one design after another. The buildings all emerged from one architectural conception, that of Nicholas Rogers.

From Robert Cary Long, Sr. (1772-1833), on the other hand, no drawings have survived. His training consisted of apprentice-

ship in carpentry.²² In his later twenties when he supervised construction of the Jail and Assembly Rooms, whether he had some previous experience in directing brick and stone construction is not known. And while there is no record of travel outside the environs of Baltimore, he did make extensive use of the architectural holdings of the Library Company, whereas Rogers borrowed only one architectural work, Leone's *Palladio*. Long read on Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Gothic architecture and construction. He withdrew books on military and hydraulic engineering and works by Chambers, Adam, George Richardson, and Sir John Soane, but no handbooks, such as those of Peter Nicholson. His buildings show, first, a great inconsistency in taste; second, a variety of non-architectural associations determining the choice of historical styles he employed; and third, the continued mind, if not hand, of Nicholas Rogers.

St. Paul's Church was the last and major public building by Long, a member of the congregation. (Fig. 13) Delayed by the War of 1812, its construction dated 1814-1817. Although it differed greatly from the design of 1810 made by Rogers, a major similarity was the very high tower, in this case 126 feet, not as high as Rogers's, but enough so that every commentator noted this height with pride, amazement, or scorn. The changing shapes of the tower stages from square to octagonal to circular with a dome and the sequence of orders from Doric to Ionic to Corinthian to Composite suggest a free variation on the well known designs published by Gibbs. But the Episcopalians themselves provided the reason for the very tall towers designed by both Rogers and Long. When an associate rector was consecrated on December 31, 1809, his sermon dealt with church doctrine, based on St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy 4:16: "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them; for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee." Eight days later the Vestry requested permission to publish the sermon, which was granted. At this same meeting, the Vestry authorized removal of bodies in preparation for construction. Thus, they were planning for a new building at the



FIGURE 13.
William Howard, engraving of St. Paul's; Peale Museum. (Photo: Peale Museum, Baltimore)

time when the associated rector admonished them, "I deem it my indispensable duty, to urge upon you, the pre-eminent claims of our own church, to antiquity." The compulsion to exert Anglican authority was all the stronger because the Roman Catholics were building their new Cathedral across open fields only two blocks away. This was the grand structure designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, and intended to have two towers and a great dome. The tall tower of St. Paul's must be seen as an architectural challenge to the Roman Catholics. More specific is the source used for the main level of the facade. In the history of the coupled columns stemming from the facade of the Louvre, one of the first reuses was by Sir Christopher Wren at St. Paul's in London. Not only the coupled Doric columns, but the flanking windows in arched recesses, set on podia with panelled bibs, indicate that Long modelled the Baltimore St. Paul's on the London one. With this reference to the source of Anglican doctrine and practice, the Episcopalians of Baltimore challenged the authority of the Roman Catholics and their Cathedral under construction nearby. The engraving suggests that St. Paul himself approved of this endeavor.²³

In contrast with the century-old source for St. Paul's, Long employed a quite modern English conception for his first monu-

mental building, the Union Bank of 1807. The front followed a design published only a decade earlier by Sir John Soane, including the recessed vestibule with a two-column screen and the corner columns set in niches. As architect of the Bank of England Soane provided the utmost authority and respectability for a bank building in his image.²⁴ The tall Ionic order continued as pilasters along the side elevation that was itself a complete composition, as at Druid Hill. And as at Rogers's home, garlanded panels were set into the walls; a large block with a recessed panel of allegorical decoration rose above the cornice, and the central pavilion showed shifting rhythms from the three-part window on ground level to the simple windows above, and the broad panel on top.

For Long's Holliday Street Theater of 1811-1813, different sources are indicated. (Fig. 14) The rusticated basement with arched openings and the giant orders fronting the upper stories derived from Palladio via England. The paneled parapet across the top linked the design with Rogers. No doubt Palladio was chosen in order to evoke the memory of the famous Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza.²⁵

The Medical College of 1812-1813 still stands. Although it is usually related to the Pantheon, the print published ten years after its completion tells us directly, "After

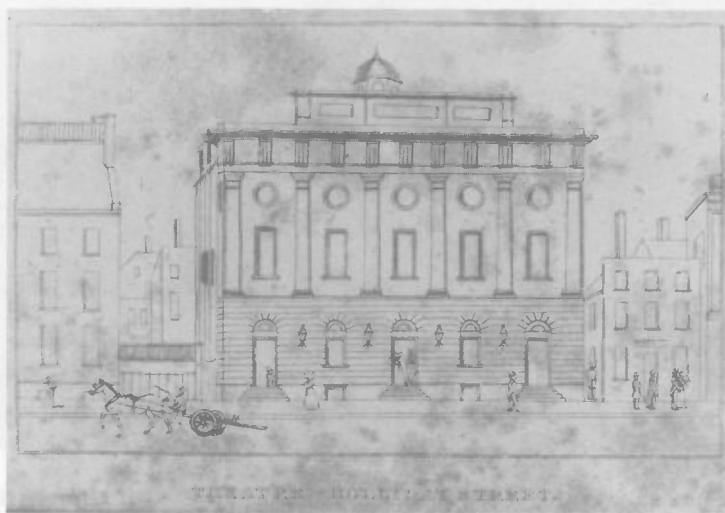


FIGURE 14.

Holliday Street Theater, by Robert Cary Long, Sr., 1811-1813; from Latrobe, *Picture of Baltimore*. (Photo: Courtesy, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library)

the Parthenon of Athens." The date, 1812, is too early for the Greek Revival fashion, but the style is understandable as an allusion to the Greek founders of medical ethics and practice, Hippocrates and Aesculapius. From the side we can see familiar motifs, such as the three-part arched windows, but also other shapes, such as the tall slits and semi-circles seen in the designs of Rogers.²⁶

In 1813-1814 Long built the Baltimore Museum for Rembrandt Peale. Peale wanted a distinctive building to help attract the paying public to the varied entertaining and instructive exhibits he offered. Long's response was to take the five-bay front of the Federal house and magnify the central bay into a pavilion. Two Doric columns in-antis before the recessed vestibule gave a modern appearance, reminiscent of the Union Bank. The paired members at the windows of the second floor probably were Ionic, but whether columns or piers is not clear. They carried an enormous entablature and a stone panel on the third level that never did receive its sculpture. Further elaboration of this strange front appeared in the four piles of ashlar blocks on the main story. Rather than deriving from a specific source, it represents Long's unimpeded architectural imagination. The use of the stone parts was so incomprehensible and puzzling that when the building was restored half a century ago by a Colonial Revivalist, the modern architect redesigned the front, an explicit criticism of Long.²⁷

Of his elaborate domestic works we have only verbal descriptions that are too vague to provide a real picture. Attributed to him since 1823, the front of Calverton, the Dennis Smith House, has recently been shown to be the work of J.-J. Ramée, a French architect who visited his patron for several months in 1815. A few years earlier, 1812, Smith insured a simple rectangular house. Ramée did the landscaping and designed an enlargement with a modern entrance and octagonal wings to either side. Apparently Long built the addition after Ramée's departure and erroneously received credit for the design.²⁸

To sum up: Long's sources showed a great inconsistency that can be explained only by associations, the non-architectural reasons for the selection of Mnesicles, Palladio, Wren, and Soane as architectural

guides. Many of the books he used are known, but there are many signs that Rogers was an unacknowledged collaborator or advisor. Rogers died in 1822, and in the next year Long began to advertise himself as "architect." In the same year Poppleton's *Plan of Baltimore*, among its vignettes of many buildings, mistakenly attributed to Long the Jail and Assembly Rooms as well as the Dennis Smith House.

To return to the larger question, the gentleman-architect Nicholas Rogers offered designs when there was no architect in the city. Like Jefferson he probably recognized that Godefroy in 1810 was a beginner besides being a Roman Catholic, and in addition Rogers had strong personal reasons for drawing up his church and monument projects. In the second half of the teens, Baltimore was the residence of Robert Mills and of Latrobe for a time. Godefroy's ability and practice had developed considerably; and Ramée visited briefly. Businessmen of Baltimore made many efforts to keep them in the city by giving them all the jobs they could develop. After 1814 Long and the other builder-designers received no commissions for designs. By 1820, however, these architects all left, largely because the financial disasters of the late teens inhibited building. The merchants of Baltimore were accustomed to hiring specialists for their various works. When there were professional architects of proven competence, working in a style satisfactory to the client, the gentleman ceased the practice of architecture.

REFERENCES

1. Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), p. 586.

A version of this paper was read at a conference on the gentleman-architect in the early Republic, at the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum on October 10, 1981. For aid and support while I worked on this topic, I owe special thanks to Charles E. Brownell, Joanne and Ernest du Pont, and Michael Trostel, and to the staffs of the Baltimore City Archives, Maryland Historical Society, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, and Winterthur Library. This study was completed while I served as NEH/Winterthur research fellow, 1981-82.

2. The basic accounts of Nicholas Rogers include Edith R. Bevan, "Druid Hill, Country Seat of the Rogers and Buchanan Families," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 44 (1949): 190-99, especially valuable for bringing together the visual materials;

- and Alexandra L. Levin, "Colonel Nicholas Rogers and His Country Seat, 'Druid Hill,'" *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 78-82. Further references for biographical materials will be made only when they do not appear in these two studies; some additional information in this paragraph is taken from the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Jan. 26, 1792; "The Library Company of Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 12 (1917): 311; and G. Terry Sharrer, "Flour Milling in the Growth of Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71 (1976): 332-33. The only discussion of Rogers's architecture is Claire W. Eckels, "Baltimore's Earliest Architects, 1785-1820" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1950), pp. 56-64, a discussion contained within the chapter on Robert Cary Long, Sr., pp. 48-112. For the painting, see Stiles T. Colwill, *Francis Guy, 1760-1820* (Baltimore, 1981), p. 66.
3. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 274.
 4. Bevan, pp. 193-95. Apparently wings were intended, but never constructed. See also Robert Raley, "The Baltimore Country House" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1959), pp. 62, 86-87, 129-30. The whole estate was acquired by the city as a public park in 1860, and three years later the mansion was altered by the addition of a twenty-foot veranda on all four sides to house zoological exhibits and on the ground level refreshment stands. A pyramidal roof destroyed those parts above the architrave of the main entablature, while the main entrance bay and the whole garden facade were changed. The hall and adjacent rooms were much altered, but some interior woodwork and doors have survived along the outer portion of the living space. The excellent restoration (1980-1981) under the direction of Michael Trostel has made these original elements available again, the only surviving work by Nicholas Rogers. I am indebted to Mr. Trostel for permission to use his restored plan.

Druid Hill is built of brick and stuccoed, with stone for the water table, bases and capitals of pilasters, and window sills, and wood for enframements and entablature. It is sixty-five feet wide and fifty-nine feet deep. According to the account of the destruction in the *Baltimore Journal and Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 8, 1796, the front of the original, one-story house was "nearly sixty feet"; perhaps Rogers reused the foundations of the first structure, but changed the axis to put the entrances on the long sides.

 5. For Mt. Airy, see Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York, 1952), pp. 353-55, figs. 293-96. John R. Murray, son-in-law of Col. Rogers, made his drawing (reproduced as a lithograph) probably between the date of his marriage in 1812 and his definite presence in New York in 1840; Bartlett Cowdray, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Records, 1826-1860*, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), II: 46.
 6. These elements begin early in the English Baroque, e.g., Thomas Archer's Haythorpe, c. 1705-1710; John Wolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 2 vols. (London, 1767-71), II, pls. 85-86; this house also has a projecting portico of four giant columns (pediment omitted) and a balustrade concealing the roof. The form of the single window is common; *ibid.*, I, pl. 36; James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London, 1728), pls. 58, 108; and many examples in Abraham Swan, *A Collection of Designs in Architecture*, 2 vols. (London, 1756-57). Swan also shows (II, pl. 20) the mezzanine type window in the basement. For consoles in profile, as scrolls, buttressing the ends of a horizontal member, see Gibbs, pls. 93, 100, 120; Swan, II, pl. 31; these examples show interior use. Swan (I, pl. 57) provides an excellent plate of such a scroll with leafy ornament.
 7. The enclosed staircase and sequence of hall and large chamber occur frequently (e.g., Archer's Haythorpe, Wolfe and Gandon, II, pls. 83-84), but these motifs become widely used in non-Baroque English houses as well. Raley (pp. 65-68) demonstrates the frequent use of the hall and chamber motif in Baltimore country houses around 1800, and the enclosed staircase occurs in many of the same buildings. From the occasional reports of travellers visiting Baltimore we get a picture of Rogers as an active host in his city and country homes. Count Francesco dal Verme spent an afternoon and evening with him; *Seeing America and its Great Men; the Journal and Letters of Count Francesco dal Verme, 1783-1784*, trans. and ed. Elizabeth Cometti (Charlottesville, Va., 1969), p. 46. The British Consul, Robert Liston, and his wife breakfasted with Rogers shortly before the first country house burned in 1796; Levin, p. 80.
 8. Bevan, p. 197, n. 16; Raley, pp. 62, 135. For the painting, see William V. Elder, III, *Baltimore Painted Furniture* (Baltimore, 1972), p. 22; and Colwill, fig. p. 78. The settee was made by 1805, thus providing a terminus for the house painted on it.
 9. Details on Rogers's real estate holdings are in Baltimore City Archives (hereafter BCA), RG 4, Tax Assessor's Books; and BCA, WPA-HRS, 1788-4, 1793-3, and 1794-1. References to supply of urban facilities (e.g., water, sidewalk extension), *ibid.*, 1799-158, 1802-54, 1803-19, 1812-30, and 1816-136. On his city council service, see *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 5, 1798, Nov. 3, 1800; and BCA, WPA-HRS, 1797-115A, 1798-223, 1799-222, 1800-154, 308, 315, 317, 323, 1801-259, 303, 324. William Priest, in *Travels in the United States of America; Commencing in the Year 1793 and Ending in 1797* (London, 1802), p. 81, reported that Col. Rogers had acquired an old country house that was now on the center street of the city, and that he had sold the wings for building, but retained the main structure. This account is puzzling, for Rogers's city house, on the south side of Baltimore Street at Light Street, was on one of three adjacent lots that he never sold.
 10. For construction dates, see *Federal Gazette*, Aug. 30, 1797, Sept. 5, 1798, Jan. 12, 15, 1799. Thomas Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824[-29]), p. 160, names Rogers as designer, and as builders Robert Cary Long, James Donaldson, William Hessington, stonemason, and Lauder (not further identifiable). Brief descriptions occur in John H. B. Latrobe, *Picture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1832), p. 191, and Charles Varle, *Complete*

- View of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1834), pp. 34–35. Rogers's borrowings are recorded in the Librarian's Ledger (ms. in Maryland Historical Society). For the Palazzo Capra, see Andrea Palladio, *The Architecture of Andrea Palladio*, trans. and ed. Giacomo Leoni, 4 vols. in 5 (London, 1715–1719), bk. 2, pl. 16. For Carr's Town Hall and Assembly Room, see George Richardson, *The New Vitruvius Britannicus*, 2 vols. (London, 1802–1808), II, pls. 11–14. A marginal representation of the Assembly Rooms in Warner and Hanna's 1802 *Map of Baltimore* shows a more elaborate entry and more blocks in the balustrade, but still located over the windows. A visitor reported of Baltimore, "It has the most elegant dancing Assembly Room in the U. S. It is a 2 Story brick Building very long, & has a very elegant Appearance in Front"; James Kent, "A New Yorker in Maryland: 1793 and 1821," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 47 (1952): 139. Inasmuch as the building was not even planned at the time of his visit in 1793, the comment must be a later interpolation.
11. For the Adam building, Richardson, I, pls. 8–9.
 12. The chronology of this construction has been confused with records concerning the sale of the site of the old jail and other matters during a long preparatory period; *Federal Gazette*, Feb. 2, Nov. 13, 1798, July 10, 1799. The major piece of ground was acquired by gift, its deed dated Dec. 11, 1799, and the balance was obtained by condemnation the following spring; BCA, WPA-HRS, 1799–60, 1801–158. Notices thereafter testify to construction; *Federal Gazette*, July 10, Aug. 5, Oct. 2, 1800. Rogers designed the plan and Long was the builder, according to Griffith (pp. 175–76). See also Latrobe, pp. 84–85, Varle, p. 19, and J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 200–201. The structure was one side of an intended quadrangle; on its back were projections for continuation, visible in early maps, such as Poppleton's, and in the 1837 drawing by Robert Cary Long, Jr., now in the Maryland Historical Society; Francis F. Beirne, *Baltimore, A Pictorial History*, (New York, 1957), p. 21. Built of brick and stone, the building was 157 feet long, plus two 25-foot octagonal extensions, and 35 feet deep. It had twenty cells, each about twenty feet square, to hold twenty prisoners each. The lowest story and parts of the upper stories were vaulted as protection against both fire and escape. High walls, visible in the Long drawing, were built in 1812 and 1817 (Griffith, pp. 201–202). It was razed about 1859 for the present jail.
 13. Bennard B. Perlman, "The City Hall, Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 47 (1952): 40; BCA, WPA-HRS, 1802–294.
 14. The major technical deficiency appears in the handling of shadow areas of windows, especially the tripartite windows with three shades of grey. Erasures occupy the space between Rogers's name and the date; I have been unable to make a satisfactory restoration.
 15. Gibbs (pl. 127) shows a portrait medallion represented as though suspended by ribbons on a monument, a not unusual device in the eighteenth century. Batty and Thomas Langley, *The Builder's Jewel* (London, 1746) was advertised for sale in 1795, with other architectural works, by the Baltimore booksellers Ambrose Clark and James Keddie; *Federal Intelligencer and Maryland Gazette*, Jan. 14, 1795 (cited by Raley, pp. 41–42). The strange nature of the Langley plate derives from the collocation of symbols of Freemasonry. Doric, Tuscan, and Corinthian orders are identified by letters on the podia bases as standing for Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, and they carry representations of the Sun, Moon, and Master Mason. On the columns hang, like trophies, the clock, symbol of the passage of time, and two groups of Masonic objects, square, compasses, and Bible, and level, plumb line, and square. Two tracing boards have geometrical forms and a message in a Masonic code, while the third shows the floor plan of the Temple of Solomon. Not a single word in the text identifies the Masonic character of the illustration, yet references to rules, knowledge, and self-improvement can be read as Masonic ideals. While there is little reason to consider that Rogers included some of these forms as Masonic emblems in his temple design, still the plate fuses them with proper architectural orders in its strange non-structural outdoor composition that enjoyed a wide circulation. A professedly didactic work, *The Builder's Jewel* was one to which an amateur like Rogers might turn, especially if it had been still current during his student days in Glasgow. Another point worthy of note is that the plate shows the three orders in the same size, despite their different proportions, a generation before Chambers adopted this form; Eileen Harris in John Harris, *Sir William Chambers* (University Park, Pa., [1970]), p. 138.
 16. Ethan Allen, Historical Sketch of St. Paul's Parish (ms., c. 1855; photostatic copy in Maryland Historical Society, Ms. 13), pp. 158–62, 198–204.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 158–59, 163, 269; Maryland Historical Society, Ms. 2128, Rogers and Buchanan Family Note.
 18. Maryland Historical Society, Ms. 469, Howard Papers, Box 21; Ms. 1494, Col. Nicholas Rogers' Scrapbook, 1816–1819. BCA, WPA-HRS, 1803–196, 1813–64, 1818–125. Eugenia C. Holland and Louisa M. Gary, "Oil Portraits in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 50 (1955): 329. Between 1812 and 1821 Rogers recommended "Scamoci's Architecture" and "Repton on Picturesque Gardening" for acquisition; Maryland Historical Society, MS. 80, Baltimore Library Company, Box 1, vol. entitled "Constitution of the Library." Several books, editions, and translations of the first author were available; the second perhaps referred to Humphrey Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London, 1803). No surprise arises from Rogers's interest in the Picturesque of Repton or in the enriched surfaces of Scamozzi's architecture.
 19. Advertisement: *Niles' Weekly Register*, Mar. 20, 1813, p. 56; at this point in the planning the monument was intended to occupy the site on Calvert Street where Godefroy's Battle Monument now stands. Elevation (Acc. No. 51.97.1c): H. 31½ in., W. 21¼ in. Inscriptions: right of top of image, in pencil "The best pinnacle"; left edge, in pencil, "1

- view/ that is down Calvert Street/ towards Baltimore/ Street"; on monument, in ink, "alas/ He is gone", "Pater Patriae/ First in War/ First in Peace/ First in the Hearts/ Of his Countrymen", "Washington"; along lower edge, in pencil, "A scale of 32 feet, being four feet to an inch". Plan (Acc. No. 51.97.1b): H. 38½ in., W. 22 in. Inscriptions: lower left corner, in pencil, "all the spaces coloured with crosses/ on them indicate pallisading/ 13 [camps?] as [?] marked/ 9 cannon around the parapet wall/ as marked/ 18 guard stones protecting the pave/ ment kirbed marked by triangles/ 19 niches on sites for statue busts/ or urns as numbered by figures/ 2 Fish ponds with Cascades/ Mosaic pavements around the monument/ 4 foundations for altars marked 1 2 3 4/ 10' square"; in center of foundation, in pencil, "Foundation for the/ monument/ 25' square/ The parapet with its/ appendages 70' square"; below steps, in pencil, "Entry up to the/ monument/ ground plan"; above scale, in ink, "A scale of four feet to the inch"; below circular design at lower edge, in pencil, "This south area/ 48 feet/ That to the North/ 42 feet"; lower right, in pencil, "please Ladies & Gentlemen to keep your/ god fingers off from the paper"; on back, in pencil, "A ground plan of the area around Washington monument land in/ marble". Sketch of relief (Acc. No. 51.97.1a): H. 14½ in., W. 14½ in. Inscription: on back, in pencil in a modern hand, "Plan of Monument/ Washington by/ Nich Rogers". The elevation drawing has been reproduced and discussed with the other designs for this competition: J. Jefferson Miller, "Designs for the Washington Monument in Baltimore," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 23 (1964): 21-22 and fig. 3.
20. *Federal Gazette*, June 23, 1798. Scharf, *Chronicles*, pp. 237, 251-54, 414. Christopher W. Ward, *The Delaware Continentals, 1776-1783* (Wilmington, Del., 1941), pp. 289-90 for Rogers's description of deKalb. Alexandra L. Levin, "James Buchanan's Letters from Baltimore, 1798," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 74 (1979): 350-51, an account showing Rogers's continued preference for the French over the British. In 1778 his portrait was painted in uniform by Charles Willson Peale; Charles C. Sellers, "Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 42, pt. 1 (1952): 185 and fig. 93.
 21. For a preliminary study of Masonic iconography, see Alan Gowans, "Freemasonry and the Neoclassic style in America," *Antiques*, 77 (1960): 72-75, along with scattered references in his *Images of American Living* (Philadelphia and New York, 1964). For a brief history and explanations, see the essay and glossary by Barbara Franco in the exhibition catalogue *Masonic Symbolism in American Decorative Arts* (Lexington, Mass., 1976), pp. 17-52; the Doolittle plate is reproduced on p. 8. For Masonic use of the tall pyramid, see the Thomas Carrick Manuscript (1727), f. 20, reproduced in Henry S. Borneman, *Early Freemasonry in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1931). For an example of the inverted compasses and square (aluded to in the lower part of Rogers's obelisk), see the seal on a certificate of membership dated 1787, in Norris S. Barratt and Julius F. Sachse, *Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1721-1907* (Philadelphia, 1908), following p. 416. On Washington, see John J. Lanier, *Washington, the Great American Mason* (New York, [1922]); further bibliography in John A. Carroll and Mary W. Ashworth, *George Washington, vol. VII: First in Peace* (New York, 1957), p. 127, n. 9. The dedication of the Washington Monument in Baltimore was reported in full in Niles's *Register*, July 8, 1815, pp. 329-33, and repeated in Edward T. Schultz, *Freemasonry in Maryland*, 4 vols. (1880-1888), I: 220-26. Schultz justifies the position of Washington as the leading Mason of his day, in *Observance of Centennial Anniversary of Death of George Washington* [Baltimore, 1899], pp. 14-16. The bust of the Master Mason in the frontispiece of Langley's *The Builder's Jewel* (Fig. 9) is thought by some to have become, in the first American edition (Charleston, Mass., 1800), a portrait of Washington; but see Wendy C. Wick, *George Washington, an American Icon* ([Washington,] 1982), p. 158.
 - I am indebted to Jane Phillips, of the Masonic Museum, Baltimore, whose searches revealed no references to Nicholas Rogers in Maryland Masonry.
 22. Accounts of Long's life and work are few: T. Buckler Ghequiere, "The Messrs. Long, Architects," *The American Architect and Building News*, I (1876): 207; Eckels, pp. 48-112; Richard H. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer, *Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 54-59. Drawings exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1827 and 1828 were by his son, Robert Cary Long, Jr. (1810-1849); see Cowdray, I: 298. Long was a respected member of the community, owner of several houses and a lumberyard, secretary of the Carpenters' Society at the age of 23, director of banking and insurance companies as well as other public organizations, and a shareholder in the Library Company (partial recompense for his work there). The present brief and biased discussion is not the positive study that Long richly deserves for his participation in Baltimore's explosive growth in the early nineteenth century.
 23. See Gibbs, pl. 30. At the time of the dedication the tower was not yet completed. The account of the dedication in the *Baltimore American*, Mar. 12, 1817 (reprinted in the *Federal Gazette*, Mar. 12, 1817), was clipped by Nicholas Rogers and pasted in his scrapbook with this comment, "A particular description of the inside of St. Paul's Church. very new, very". Allen, pp. 196-97, 216. The etching (see Latrobe, p. 134) is attributed to William Howard on the basis of a marginal note by Fielding Lucas, Jr., on one copy at the Maryland Historical Society.
 24. Robert L. Alexander, "The Union Bank, by Long after Soane," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 23 (1963): 135-38. Chimneys emerging from the broad block on the side suggest that Long had a fireplace under the window as S. Blodgett did in the Girard Bank in Philadelphia (as pointed out to me by Charles E. Brownell).
 25. Griffith (p. 146) attributes the design of the theater to a Mr. Robins, with Long as builder along with

William Steuart and James Mosher, stone and brick masons respectively.

26. The building also was related to the Pantheon very early; Viator, "University of Maryland," *Niles' Weekly Register*, Sept. 15, 1815, p. 34. Recent studies include Bryden B. Hyde, "Davidge Hall," *Bulletin, University of Maryland School of Medicine*, 56, 3 (July 1971): 1-8; and W. Boulton Kelly and Ella Whitthorne, "A Baltimore Landmark with a Secret Past," *AIA Journal*, 67 (Jan. 1978): 42-45. The exterior has long been related to Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania, perhaps through Owen Biddle, *The Young Carpenter's Assistant* (Philadelphia, 1805), p. 54 and pl. 42; and the conception of an amphitheater with an auditorium beneath has been linked with Latrobe's similar organization of the Medical Building in Philadelphia (Kelly and Whitthorne, p. 44). The ornament inside the dome is applied stucco rather than constructed coffers, and the pattern of circles and squares with incurved sides along with the fret decoration at the base of the monitor probably derives from Latrobe's anteroom to the old Hall

of Representatives in the Capitol; see Glenn Brown, *History of the United States Capitol*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1900-1903), I, pl. 100. The circular skylights in the dome may be derived from an idea of Thomas Jefferson as developed by Latrobe in the Senate vault; see Paul F. Norton, *Latrobe, Jefferson and the National Capitol* (New York, 1977), pls. 57, 58, 60. For discussion of these questions, I am much indebted to Charles E. Brownell and his knowledge of both Jefferson and Latrobe.

27. The old and the new fronts can be conveniently compared through the illustrations in Howland and Spencer, p. 38 and pl. 49.
28. Paul F. Norton, "The Architect of Calverton," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (1981): 113-23. When Smith acquired the property, it had a stone house measuring forty feet long and twenty feet wide, with a plain front; on July 24, 1812, he insured it for \$1800, as described in the Baltimore Equitable Society's Record of Surveys (ms.), vol. B: 251-52, policy no. 3386.

A Century of Frustration: The Movement for a State Archives in Maryland, 1811-1935

RICHARD J. COX

IN EARLY 1935 THE MARYLAND HALL OF Records opened and over the next half century secured a reputation as one of the pre-eminent state archival institutions in the United States.¹ This organization was the chief monument of the Maryland Tercentenary Commission formed to plan and supervise the anniversary celebration of the state's colonial settlement. The commission and its festivities linked professional and amateur historians, patriotic groups, and the general populace effectively to plan, fund, construct, staff, and sustain this public repository. The wide support that the state archives received in the late 1920s and early 1930s seems remarkable when it is realized that for over a century similar efforts had garnered only a modicum of support. It is less remarkable, however, because Maryland's experience is generally typical of the pattern of the formation of Southern state archives.²

Between 1811 and 1831 five Maryland histories were written and published by local antiquarians, the birth of a movement for a Maryland state archives. Ranging from a long pedantic review of English colonization in the New World to a detailed institutional study of local government which remains even today a history worth reading, these tomes were as much a product of the American nationalism prevalent during the early nineteenth century as of local interest.³ Such writings were no less nationalistic expressions than Baltimore's first monument to the memory of George

Washington, Charles Carroll of Carrollton's lonely vigil as the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence from 1826 to his death in 1832, or the patriotic dance performances in this city.⁴ The histories played upon the same patriotic theme because Maryland had long been ignored by the early historical chroniclers. John Leeds Bozman aptly summarized the sentiment of all these early local writers when he penned that "while almost every other state in the Union has had its historian, Maryland, though one of the earliest British colonies, has never yet had even its first provincial transactions developed to the inquiring reader."⁵ In a matter of a generation this was rectified.

Bozman's observation was not unique nor was he the first to endeavor to compose a history of Maryland. As early as 1708 John Oldmixon stressed the difficulty of writing about Maryland in his history of the British Empire because there were no suitable local "memoirs" to use.⁶ The best of the local literature of the seventeenth century were promotional tracts or political treatises concerning the numerous religious, proprietary, and boundary conflicts.⁷ Histories were planned, such as Benedict Leonard Calvert's proposal of 1729 "to compleat . . . a more perfect History" of Maryland, but none came to fruition.⁸ In Calvert's case the administrative burdens of his governorship and his premature death ended his literary ambitions.⁹

There are many reasons for the lack of histories of Maryland in these early years, not the least of which was the poor condition of the colonial records. Benedict Leonard Calvert in his first address to the Maryland legislature lamented this state of af-

Mr. Cox's article "The Plight of American Municipal Archives: Baltimore, 1729-1979" appeared in *The American Archivist* 42 (July 1979):281-292.

fairs, urging the construction of a "Separate Repository" for their storage which was completed in 1730.¹⁰ The situation, nevertheless, improved little. In 1758 even a copy of Maryland's colonial charter of 1632 could not be located in the colony and two years later Governor Horatio Sharpe reported that his aide, John Ridout, found the old records "so very deficient . . . that he imagines it would be impossible to Compile a History from the Records that are in the Province."¹¹ Indeed, the best historical sketch of the colony completed in the eighteenth century consisted of two chapters in George Chalmers' *Political Annals* based exclusively upon English records.¹²

The new Maryland historians of the early nineteenth century all expressed their concern with the safety of the old public records. Little had changed since the days of Ridout and Calvert and, in fact, the numerous moves of the records during the American Revolution and War of 1812 only had worsened their condition.¹³ These historians struggled to use the original materials and reached similar conclusions. Bozman urged the state to hire "some judicious compiler . . . to arrange and publish" the records.¹⁴ McMahon, who made the most extensive use of the records, confessed that he had been "compelled to rely principally, for the sources of his information, upon unpublished and imperfect records, the very perusal of which, if inflicted as punishment, would be intolerable." He, too, hoped for improvement.¹⁵

For the first time, through the pages of these histories, Marylanders became aware of the condition of the historical records, although few seemed concerned at first. During the same years, however, autograph collecting and historical editing became popular in the state, both part of an increasing national interest in artifacts of the American past. Robert Gilmore, Jr., a prominent Baltimore businessman, amassed one of the great autograph collections, including documents of local history, and was later to be a founder of the Maryland Historical Society.¹⁶ More importantly at this time, however, were the visits of Jared Sparks and Peter Force to Annapolis, the state's capital. Sparks visited the town in 1826, examined a few public documents, and

noted the existence of many old records that were, unfortunately, "much scattered . . . in the different offices."¹⁷ When Force began his collecting a few years later, Sparks provided him with leads to the records.¹⁸ Through Force's visits, and indirectly helped by Sparks' earlier research, Maryland's new state librarian became interested in the state's historical treasures. For the first time since Benedict Leonard Calvert, a century before, a public official became an advocate for a central repository of records.

David Ridgely was in charge of the Maryland State Library when it opened in late 1827. The purpose of this institution was to provide reference services to the legislature and state government, a mandate that Ridgely took extremely seriously.¹⁹ Through contacts with Peter Force, however, Ridgely also soon realized the importance of the preservation of the original records as he copied for Force's vast editorial projects.²⁰ In the mid-1830s Ridgely issued three reports on this subject, examining most of the central government offices in the capital and urging the preservation and selective publication of the records.²¹ Within a few years Ridgely's conception of the library's purpose was transformed from solely government reference to a central repository of the state's older records; in 1838 he suggested that the "true interest of the library would be best subserved by the endeavor to collect and preserve all such documents as would give correctness to our own history."²²

Librarian Ridgely not only wrote about such concerns but actively worked on them. Because of his efforts the state purchased the extensive papers of Horatio Ridout, an important colonial official, and a transcript of an unpublished tract of Father Andrew White, one of the first Maryland settlers.²³ Ridgely influenced the state's acceptance of John Leeds Kerr's offer to publish a fuller Maryland history by Bozman²⁴ and also urged, unsuccessfully, the state to publish a Maryland history for the public schools.²⁵ With his retirement in the mid-1840s, however, the state library gradually slipped back to legislative reference exclusively. Even under Ridgely, the library had not become a central repository of histori-

cal records; Ridgely, while in office, even complained he could not protect the records from scissors-happy autograph hunters.²⁶

The failure of the Maryland State Library to perform a role it was not founded to do was lamented, perhaps, only by Ridgely and a few others. Others who had great hopes for its work in this area, historians like Force, McMahon and Sparks, had barely enough time to lament Ridgely's departure before the creation of another institution specifically designed to meet this challenge, the Maryland Historical Society. There are several ways to view this institution's founding in 1844 and its subsequent activities. The Society was the apogee of the first awakening of the historical consciousness in Maryland, an awakening that had started in 1811 with Bozman's first essay and slowly expanded to a sizeable group of men interested in the preservation of Maryland's records and artifacts to create an historical society to better accomplish this end. The society's purpose, and the ostensible purpose of all such institutions, was the "collecting, preserving and diffusing information" of a region's history.²⁷ The Society was also, of course, the institutionalization of the interests and avocations of an elite group of culturally and socially conservative men. Men like Robert Gilmore and Brantz Mayer, autograph collectors *par excellence*, also founded and guided the Society's most important formative years for various cultural and social functions, preserving the past in a manner so as to instruct the present and provide stability in a time of immense change and confusion.²⁸

Regardless of their motives, the leaders of the Maryland Historical Society lost no time in replacing the failed Maryland State Library and for a long time it served as a surrogate state archives. At the Society's first recorded meeting in early 1844, it was iterated that one of its primary purposes was the "collecting [of] the scattered materials of the early history of the state of Maryland."²⁹ Within its first year it established a fund for the purchase of manuscripts³⁰ and by its end held a number of significant documents, primarily the rich collection of colonial and revolutionary

manuscripts donated by Robert Gilmore, Jr.³¹ In 1854, only one decade after its founding, the Society had 409 lots of records, mostly of the colonial and revolutionary periods and including many documents transferred from the state.³² The state documents arrived at the Society in 1847 after the passage of a resolution to transfer all original records relating to Maryland before the Revolutionary War that were in duplicate or in an "apparent or manifest decay."³³ This was the beginning of the Maryland Historical Society's lobby for the better preservation of the state's historical records.

This role of the Society was chiefly the vision of one individual, Brantz Mayer. A native of Baltimore, lawyer, journalist, historian, and autograph collector, Mayer had a long and close involvement with the society.³⁴ He was one of the institution's founders, having endeavored to establish it as early as the mid-1830s, and having helped to draft its original constitution.³⁵ As the Society's first corresponding secretary and two decades later, its president, Mayer appears to be the one who pushed for the Society to become the official repository of the state's records. One of the earliest gifts to the Society's library was presented by Mayer, the 1836 reports of David Ridgely on the condition of the public records.³⁶ Interested by these reports and encouraged by Jared Sparks to pursue the matter,³⁷ Mayer made the preservation of the state's records a lifelong pursuit. The failure by the Society in the late 1840s to procure funds from the state for the publication of the "most important" of the records³⁸ and the interest by Mayer in other projects, however, ended for a brief time the Society's quest for better care of the public records.³⁹

The concern with the state's records was resurrected in the mid-1850s. In 1854 a legislative committee, apparently with no prompting from the Maryland Historical Society, reported on the sad condition of the public records. That this was, at least initially, an administrative concern is obvious from their complaining that the legislative records were "carelessly crowded into insufficient cases . . . and it is next to impossible to find any paper connected

with the previous sessions. . . ." The committee recommended the construction of a fire-proof records building. Although it took four years to appropriate the necessary funds, a small records building was completed in 1859.⁴⁰

The construction of this building and a seemingly sympathetic legislature reawakened the Maryland Historical Society. With some support from the society and mostly the energetic lobbying of Reverend Ethan Allen, the 1858 Maryland legislature requested John Henry Alexander, a Marylander in Europe on diplomatic duty, to survey Maryland-related records in Rome and England. Allen, an Episcopalian minister who had been writing local histories and collecting Episcopalian records for the past decade, had had Alexander gathering materials for his own research and endeavored to have the state do likewise.⁴¹

Out of the Alexander-Allen cooperation developed the idea of publishing a calendar of these European records, to facilitate further historical research, and to inspect the extant historical records in Annapolis.⁴² Although the society was not at this time an official partner in this project, both Allen and Alexander remained active members of the institution and certainly received moral support. With Alexander's return, the two issued between 1859 and 1861 four major reports on the state records, similar to those by David Ridgely a generation earlier. The first report by Allen described the records in Annapolis, their deteriorating state, and the fact that much of what Ridgely had listed was missing; he pressed for the historical records to be "collected . . . into one place, and that place be a dry—fireproof room."⁴³ Shortly afterwards, Alexander prepared a report on his findings in Rome, the British Public Record Office, Sion College, and the British Museum and attached a partially completed calendar of the local public records visited by Allen. Alexander strongly supported Allen's argument for centralization of these records.⁴⁴

The argument for the gathering of the historical records had some effect. In September 1860 Ethan Allen was commissioned by the governor to collect all the legislative records for deposition in the newly completed fire-proof records office

for better reference and Allen's own calendaring. Allen's report of the following year, the third in this series, proposed that the records "be regularly arranged, labelled and indexed" since presently "a paper sought for, may perchance be stumbled upon, but cannot be found by any regular search." This report also listed the records Allen had found and arranged and appended Alexander's letter concerning the index to the state papers calendar.⁴⁵ Alexander and Allen hoped that the "indexing" project would be a long-term and comprehensive effort. The first volume was published in 1861 including a long report by Alexander on the efforts of improved record care over the previous thirty years, the most notable report of its kind published to that time. But the index was also a disappointment. Allen planned at least six volumes but the Maryland legislature's stoppage of funds ended these goals abruptly.⁴⁶ Moreover, there is evidence that few, if any, historical records were transferred to the new record office; instead, this building was used for other administrative purposes.⁴⁷ The onslaught of the Civil War also diverted attention away from such mundane matters as the care of the older records.

The efforts of Allen and Alexander were not forgotten, however. Brantz Mayer, in April 1864, examined a small group of state papers in Annapolis, complained of their condition to the governor, and requested their transfer to the Maryland Historical Society for arrangement and description.⁴⁸ Governor Augustus W. Bradford assented to Mayer's request and, although he had not asked for it, promised to offset Mayer's expenditures.⁴⁹ Mayer received the records in June and held them until early 1866.⁵⁰ Early in that year he reported to Governor Bradford that the records should be sorted, indexed, mended, and bound. His most important conclusions were for the centralization of the records, in this case the executive chamber in Annapolis, and that they be stamped with identifying marks because "it is found dangerous to leave the State papers at the mercies of all sorts of examiners." For the latter recommendation, Mayer cited European records practices and twenty-five missing Samuel Chase letters which had been "loaned."⁵¹

Although Mayer had arranged for the deposition of the records at the Maryland Historical Society, his actions from 1864 to 1866 were more self-motivated than reflective of the official policy of that institution. The latter had been torn asunder by the divided loyalties of the Civil War. Upon his ascension to the Society's presidency, however, Mayer renewed his efforts on its behalf. In 1867 he urged the Society to petition the state to better preserve its records, an action which ultimately led to an insertion in the state constitution making it the responsibility of the Commissioner of the Land Office to "collect, arrange and classify the papers, records, relics, and other memorials connected with the early history of Maryland."⁵² Not surprisingly, this official did little to preserve these records and the Society petitioned the state again in 1874 and 1878.⁵³ Brantz Mayer's lengthy petition of 1878, his last, urged the establishment of a central repository, reviewed the earlier efforts and failures of Ridgely, Allen, Alexander, and himself, and adding a new twist, suggested that the state begin to systematically publish its older records.⁵⁴ Although Mayer did not live to see it, his publication plan was adopted by the state government in 1882 and a new phase of the history of a movement for the creation of a state archives in Maryland was opened.

"An act to provide for the preservation, arrangement, publication and sale of Ancient Documents pertaining to Maryland" was the most successful records legislation enacted in the state with the exception of the establishment of the Maryland Hall of Records a half-century later. Earlier legislation, extending back to the late seventeenth century, that mandated better record care was always weakly enforced and efforts since the days of David Ridgely had done little better. The 1882 law stipulated that state agencies turn over to the Maryland Historical Society all records created before 1783 with the proviso that that institution would have them "safely kept, properly arranged and catalogued," published (at the state's expense), and "at all times . . . accessible to the inspections of any citizen of this State free of all charges and fees."⁵⁵ The opportunity that the Society and its leaders had been seeking for four decades was now at hand.

The Maryland Historical Society immediately commenced this project. It refurbished "fire-proof" rooms for the storage of the records, appointed William Hand Browne, a local antiquarian and faculty member of the English department at the Johns Hopkins University, as editor, and by February 1883 supervised the transfer of over ten thousand state documents to its headquarters in Baltimore.⁵⁶ The previous document lists of Ridgely, Alexander, and Allen were used in locating materials and a lengthy correspondence opened with W. Noel Sainsbury, head of the British Public Office, for the copying of Maryland-related records in England.⁵⁷ Even the reluctance of a few state officials to allow these records to be removed from their jurisdiction was easily overcome.⁵⁸ By May the decision was made to begin publishing the legislative records since these "presented the only unbroken series of papers and they would require much less labor & could be put in print at much less cost than any other series."⁵⁹ In a little over a year, in November 1883, the first volume of the *Archives of Maryland* was published.

The *Archives of Maryland* appeared at the pace of nearly one volume a year until the 1940s and amounted to a total of seventy-two volumes when it ceased in 1972. As a stimulant to research in early Maryland history, this publication was unsurpassed. Historian Jack P. Greene in the mid-1950s noted that Maryland was the "first of the southern states to launch a comprehensive program for the printing of its official colonial records," and that "it is doubtful if the published records of any other southern state excel those of Maryland either in quantity or quality."⁶⁰ More importantly, however, the *Archives of Maryland* prompted the location of many hitherto unknown or temporarily inaccessible records. The first report of the *Archives* committee stated that it discovered many seventeenth-century Maryland laws were missing, a problem corrected after a "diligent search" uncovered copies in the Public Records Office in London.⁶¹ Extremely important were the publication of a detailed, forty page "Calendar of State Archives,"⁶² and the eventual recovery of the proprietary family's private papers in England, a search begun on behalf of the

Archives project.⁶³

The Maryland Historical Society's involvement with this documentary publication, however, diverted its attention forever from the centralization of the state's historical records. What the Society gained from the 1882 law was the earliest colonial and Revolutionary records and it never showed any interest in the records created after those eras. Its attention remained riveted to the relatively small proportion of public records under its jurisdiction, and the passing of Mayer, Allen, and others of like mind ended the lobbying of the state government by this institution. When the Hall of Records was finally established in the mid-1930s this institution even developed a reactionary attitude and was reluctant to part with its public records holdings gathered in 1847-48 and 1883 and after.⁶⁴

That there was now little concern for the full preservation of all the state's historical records is best exemplified in the career of John Thomas Scharf, a Baltimorean who between 1874 and 1887 wrote a total of ten histories encompassing nineteen volumes, four of which concerned Maryland.⁶⁵ Scharf was one of the ablest practitioners of the subscription or memorial history business of the last years of the nineteenth century. His histories celebrated the past, honored the present, and were intended to stimulate the continued and increased success of the future.⁶⁶ The hub of Scharf's wheel of fortune in each of his works was the business community, a trait that was typified in his direction of Baltimore's 1880 week-long sesquicentennial celebration of its founding. Attracting over three hundred tourists who spent lavishly for transportation, accommodations, and souvenirs, this celebration was highlighted by a total lack of critical comments and by Scharf's hyped-up keynote address.⁶⁷ Scharf was probably the most popular and widely known local historian in the state during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Baltimorean always searched for new sources that could be exploited for his histories or even acquired for his personal collections. It was because of this that he sought and acquired the position of Commissioner of the Land Office in Maryland, serving from 1884 to 1892. Writing to influential citizens to gather support for his can-

didacy, Scharf explained his desire to hold this position as emanating from a concern to preserve and arrange the state's historical records and, as he related, because "I should have the opportunity of pursuing those historical studies and writings in which I take most interest. . . ."⁶⁸ Although the Maryland Historical Society held many of the oldest state records and was just undertaking their systematic publication, the Maryland Land Office remained the foremost public agency holding historical records. In his first report as commissioner he related that the "most important" records were under his control, that the office had "become . . . the depository of the genealogical history" of Marylanders, and that he had "found many valuable historical documents that were supposed to have been lost."⁶⁹ In addition to all his other responsibilities he was cataloguing the records, establishing a small historical museum, and, on one occasion, managed to bring in the oldest colonial records of one county.⁷⁰

It was during his tenure as Land Commissioner, however, that Scharf's keen entrepreneurial instincts performed a major disservice for future Maryland historians. Supposedly concerned for the preservation of the state's records, Scharf picked up large masses of neglected records and absorbed them into his own personal collection. There is fairly conclusive proof, for example, that in 1889 he sold one of the state's most important documents, the proceedings of the Maryland Convention of 1774.⁷¹ Moreover, his "gift" to the Johns Hopkins University to form the "nucleus" of a Southern history center largely consisted of fugitive state records, although he contended that he purchased them from dealers and other collectors.⁷² These records remained wrapped in brown paper and completely unsorted until the late 1960s and were only merged back into their appropriate record series in the Maryland Hall of Records a decade later. Only if Scharf's collecting of these records preserved them, which is doubtful in this case, could his actions be considered commendable.

During the years that Scharf was carting off the state records, the Maryland Historical Society was oblivious to this pillaging.

That Scharf was a member of this institution and highly regarded by its membership should not be surprising; if he had offered these records to the Society doubtless it would have gladly accepted them. What was needed was a new perspective, which, for a time, seemed present with the advent of professional history at the Johns Hopkins University in the 1870s.

The founding of the Johns Hopkins University derived from the bequest of the philanthropist for whom the school was named. His instructions for its founding did not state a specific purpose except for the vague notion of helping the South recover from the wounds of the Civil War. From consultants like Charles William Eliot, James Burrill Angell, and Andrew Dickson White evolved the concept of a graduate university; the selection of Daniel Coit Gilman as the Hopkins' first president confirmed this direction of development. Since Gilman himself had taught economics, geography, and history at the University of California and was encouraged by prominent educators like Henry Adams, the study of history was firmly ensconced in the early plans of the university. Heavily populated by Maryland students, striving to gain a firm foothold in its local community, and having an emphasis on graduate study, it is not difficult to understand why the Hopkins would become a center of local history research.⁷³ For the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Hopkins was the center of Maryland historical research, its products significant for later work even into the 1960s and 1970s, a result also of Herbert Baxter Adams' guidance of this program until his death in 1901.

Herbert Baxter Adams arrived at the Hopkins fresh from two years of study and a doctorate in history from the University of Heidelberg. In Germany Adams had been introduced to the study of history from original sources and his own seminars concentrated on the dissection and analysis of documents as if in a scientific laboratory.⁷⁴ His ideas were summarized in his 1884 *Methods of Historical Study* where the "main principle of historical training . . . is to encourage independent thought and research." Local history, largely untouched except by antiquarians, was an ex-

cellent avenue of such research. Local history was a "natural" place to begin to study the past "because man is born into such associations and because an historical knowledge of these will always be the most valuable form of historical culture, for these subjects most concern *our own life, our past, present, and future.*"⁷⁵ Between 1880 and 1900 twenty dissertations on Maryland were finished and the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, started in 1883, had published twenty-six Maryland studies by the turn of the century, including a number of the dissertations.⁷⁶ Although the subjects of these Maryland histories conformed to the general predilections of the scientific historians and the study of institutions and politics, had the average literate citizen read all of the Hopkins studies, that person would have gained a good understanding of the state's history and the origins of recent local events.

The problem with such an emphasis on local historical sources was the paucity of archival institutions and reliable documentary editions. The best collections of records resided in the restricted and usually elitist historical societies, usually totally unorganized, or, at best, poorly organized. Adams not only encouraged that his students develop relations with, even infiltration of, such private institutions,⁷⁷ but he became an advocate of the foundation of public archives. When the prominent English historian Edward A. Freeman lectured in Baltimore in 1881, Adams showed him the Maryland state papers stored there. Freeman was impressed with the value of the records and published letters in the *New York Nation* and the *Baltimore American* urging their "systematic publication,"⁷⁸ it was, perhaps, this push that convinced the state to begin the publication of the *Archives of Maryland*. For a short time after Adams seemed to have taken up the cause for a state archives. In 1883 a new course on the "Sources of American Colonial History" was offered⁷⁹ and the welcome donation of Scharf's collection in 1891 prompted similar courses.⁸⁰ Adams drove his students to the primary local institutions holding records, to archaeological excavations, and to historical sites,⁸¹ as well

as encouraged the preservation of the state's records.

The problem with Adams' advocacy for the preservation of the state records was that his attention was directed to their ease of use. Although he urged his students to become activists he himself never wholeheartedly followed this advice, at least on the local scene. Moreover, his premature death in early 1901 brought to an end the Hopkins' interest in local historical research. This subsequent neglect was so severe that the Scharf papers were completely forgotten and unused until 1932 when briefly "unearthed" by W. Stull Holt.⁸² Although the opening of the Maryland Hall of Records in 1935 excited some Hopkins professors about the possibility of new Maryland historical research,⁸³ these professionals were only respondents to rather than instigators in the formation of the state archives.

One last futile effort developed, however, a few years after Adams' death, a manifestation of the growing professionalization of history both in the United States and locally. Led by J. Franklin Jameson, a former student of Herbert Baxter Adams, the American Historical Association founded the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1895 and the Public Archives Commission four years later to resolve the problems of lack of access to and preservation of historical records in this country. The latter commission was especially important in the founding of state archival programs, mostly in the South.⁸⁴ The general procedure of this commission was to establish separate committees in each state, soliciting reports from these committees on the condition and location of local records, and allowing each committee to function as it saw fit. Maryland's committee was established in 1904 under such flexible guidelines.

Maryland's committee was founded at a time when the state government had evidenced little regard for the preservation of historical records for over two decades. Even the state's formal recognition of a local public records commission involved little commitment or notice; its members were volunteers and the state reticently provided one thousand dollars a year for two years for miscellaneous expenses.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, the committee produced an important report, devoting fourteen weeks and examining over thirty thousand volumes of records in the Land Commissioner's Office, Superior Court of Baltimore, Court of Common Pleas, Baltimore City Hall, and twenty-two counties, and finally filed a "detailed" report of two thousand "large Pages."⁸⁶ The diversity of its membership was the reason for this commission's fine work. It included leading amateur historians and civic leaders (Hester Dorsey Richardson and Albert Levin Richardson), professional historians and librarians (Bernard C. Steiner, John C. Hildt, George W. McCreary, and Beverly W. Bond, Jr.) and even a member of the Maryland legislature (Samuel K. Dennis). The committee compiled lists of records needing rebinding and recopying, described inadequate storage conditions, noted records known to be missing, analyzed usage patterns, apologized for its incompleteness, and, finally, demanded "prompt action on the part of the Assembly" in the completion of "a central State depository, where they [the records] may be carefully arranged and preserved..."⁸⁷ The ghosts of David Ridgely and Brantz Mayer must have smiled upon the issuance of this report.

Again, however, the state responded in its traditional manner, regardless of the partial state support of the committee and the diversity of its membership. The Maryland arm of the Public Archives Commission had been officially sanctioned by the state, the legislature acknowledging from the start its legal responsibility to care for the public records.⁸⁸ Yet, apparently the legislature interpreted its responsibility to be only the meagre funding of the committee's work, and a bill for the construction of an archives building was defeated in that body.⁸⁹ The only result of the committee's effort was a feeble, under-funded act designating the Commissioner of the Land Office with the authority to select records "most in need of preservation and restoration," which meant only transcription and rebinding,⁹⁰ the standard practice of "improved" record keeping since the seventeenth century.

The reasons for the consistent failure of efforts to create a state archives in Mary-

land are fairly obvious. The consistent apathy of public officials over three centuries is the most reasonable and obvious explanation. However, these public custodians were never hard-pressed by public concern; most of the efforts over the course of the nineteenth century were by individuals or by very small groups of citizens working in isolation. The best hopes for the founding of such an institution lay with the Maryland Historical Society, and it seemed to be content with providing care for only select of the oldest records and with their publication, a situation perhaps mandated by its elitist outlook, perennial financial problems, and changeover to new leadership unsympathetic to this cause. The founding of a state archives would require much larger public support.

The celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the colonial settlement of the state marked the highest public cognizance of the state's past with a degree of enthusiasm and interest never dreamed possible in the preceding century. An opportunity for the state to show off all its best colors, a Maryland Tercentenary Commission was established, given official state sanction, and funded a full seven years before the year of festivities. Consisting of numerous prominent public citizens, the commission planned for the expected markers and monuments, reconstructed historical buildings, sponsored plays and festivals, and sold official souvenirs. However, early in the planning stage, no later than 1928, a state archives building was brought up, debated, and pushed for over the next half decade. In fact, during these years few questioned the propriety or necessity of such an institution; the debates only concerned its name, location, architectural design, and size.⁹¹ The eventual establishment of the Maryland Hall of Records was the result of a unique opportunity seized upon and, most certainly, of the century of frustrating failures preceding it. Its time, simply, had come.

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King William's School and the College of William and Mary

CHARLOTTE FLETCHER

LONG AFTER MARYLAND WAS CHARTERED by Lord Baltimore, its English overlords continued to treat Maryland as if it were part of Virginia. For example, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, officers of the Crown and the Church helped found a college in Virginia named William and Mary and a free school in Maryland named King William's School. By charter William and Mary College was given the entire revenue from a one penny tax on every pound of tobacco exported from both the Maryland and Virginia plantations to countries outside England, Wales and Scotland; no portion of the tax upon what Maryland's plantations produced was reserved for a free school in Maryland. According to Maryland's Governor Francis Nicholson and the Rev. Thomas Bray, the Bishop of London's Commissary for Maryland, the college in Virginia should be of great benefit to Maryland youths who wanted a higher education. At the time the two institutions were founded, some members of the General Assembly shared this expectation, an expectation that was never fulfilled. It was many years before a restored proprietary government in Maryland awarded the Annapolis free school a revenue comparable to what the Crown had given William and Mary College in perpetuity by charter.

In 1632 King Charles the First carved two ribs from Virginia north of the Potomac and gave them to Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, who called the territory Maryland in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. It became a home for families of

Calvert's own faith, the Roman Catholic, and of many other sects. As early as 1671, Calvert proposed that a college be founded within the province of Maryland, but his proposal foundered in an overwhelmingly Protestant lower house of the Assembly—the upper house, or Council, appointed by the Proprietor was wholly Catholic—on the question of whether instruction should be Catholic, Protestant or both.¹ Twenty years later when a royal governor, Francis Nicholson, who was a strong Church of England man, urged the Assembly to build a free school and both houses agreed but insisted that they wanted not one free school but free schools, there was no controversy. An Act of Assembly in 1692 had excluded Catholics from both houses and had also imposed a tax on all free holders to support the Church of England throughout the newly drawn parishes of the province.²

Free school did not mean free education; it meant a school that made its students free by giving them a liberal education.³ The Act which founded King William's School (1696) described free schools as places where Latin, Greek, Writing "and the like" would be studied, for the "Propogation of the Gospel, and the Education of the Youth of this Province in good Letters and Manners," with "one Master, one Usher, and one Writing-Master or Scribe."⁴ In 1700 Bray reported that the free school already started in Annapolis was also teaching "arithmetic, navigation, and all useful learning."⁵ It was the intention of at least two officials of the Crown and Church, Nicholson and Bray, that some youths educated in Maryland's free schools be further educated at William and Mary College in studies preparing them for ordi-

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nation as priests in the Church of England. Indeed, Gov. Nicholson sought moral and financial support for Maryland's first free school by praising the noble example set by the college in Virginia "now vigorously carried on," saying "We . . . in assembly attempted to make learning a handmaid to devotion and founded free schools in Maryland to attend their college."⁶ On his visit to Maryland in 1700 after the Annapolis school had begun, Bray went even further in confirming this, saying its purpose was *chiefly* to prepare those youths who wanted to study divinity at William and Mary College.⁷ All early American colleges began as free schools, or with a free school attached, to prepare boys for life and college studies. The grammar school which was the beginning of William and Mary college was also called a free school.

Unlike the Rev. James Blair, founder of William and Mary College and Commissary for the Bishop of London in Virginia, who lived in Virginia from the time of his appointment until his death, the Rev. Thomas Bray, Commissary for Maryland, spent only one year in the province. But despite his short stay the General Assembly remembered him gratefully for the magnificent library of eleven hundred books which he collected and gave them in 1699, and for the good men he sent to fill the pulpits in Maryland's newly established churches.⁸ As founder of the first missionary societies in the Church of England⁹ his influence extended far beyond Maryland. *The Book of Common Prayer* adopted by the American Episcopal Church in 1979 includes his birthday (February 15) with those of saints of the early church for special celebration. Yet, he was visionary in the extreme in 1700 when he wrote the Bishop of London from Maryland that youths educated in the Annapolis school who later studied divinity at William and Mary College could then be ordained by the Bishop of London's suffragan "residing in the province."¹⁰ Americans would have no bishop in the Anglican succession, or any other, until after the Revolution.¹¹ Moreover, King William's School, chartered in 1696 in Maryland, and William and Mary College, chartered in 1693 in Virginia, would not develop hand in hand as Nicholson and Bray imagined; each

would develop according to the style of its native province.

Although there were many differences in both style and substance between Maryland and Virginia, there were many similarities at the time their first educational institutions were founded. Both were founding new capital cities—Williamsburg in Virginia and Annapolis in Maryland. Both had royal governors—Sir Edmund Andros and Francis Nicholson served in turn as governor of each colony. Both had economies based on the production and sale of tobacco. Both chose to name their infant schools after the Crown hoping for a royal blessing in return. So similar seemed Maryland and Virginia to the Lords of Trade in London that they counted them as one plantation growing tobacco to produce taxable wealth for the Crown. Since the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Charles the Second (1673), Maryland and Virginia had been linked together in a levy of one penny per pound upon tobacco exported to places outside England, Wales or the town of Berwick on Twede, an exportation very aptly called the "side trade."¹² If the Lords of Trade linked Maryland and Virginia together as one plantation, it is not surprising that the Lords of the Church, specifically the Lord Bishop of London, viewed them as one field under his care, and, furthermore, thought one college would do for both.

However, demographic and geographic differences did exist. Maryland had the most diverse population of all the colonies¹³ while Virginia was settled entirely by members of the Church of England. Until Maryland's political revolution of government (1688–92), the colony was open to Catholics, Quakers, Anglicans and dissenting Protestants, and in 1649 it became a refuge for a group of Puritans from Virginia fleeing a wave of persecution which followed the execution of Charles the First and the accession of Cromwell. To accommodate the Puritans Lord Baltimore urged the Maryland Assembly in 1649 to adopt the famous Act of Toleration, and the Assembly complied. In that same year the Puritans left Virginia and settled in Maryland at Severn, in an area which would become Anne Arundel County. In 1650 they were

able to elect two members to Maryland's lower house. Even so they turned violently against the proprietary government, hastening its overthrow. It is said that St. Anne's Church in Annapolis grew slowly because of the many dissenting Protestants living in the parish.¹⁴ This meant that St. Anne's for many years had a small congregation and that its Rector had time to serve also as Master of King William's School. In any case, King William's School had a succession of Rectors of St. Anne's as Masters.

In the extent and configuration of their lands, Virginia and Maryland were conspicuously different. Virginia was not only vastly larger—and therefore wealthier—but her territory except for one small section all lay west of the Chesapeake Bay. Maryland's much smaller area straddled the Bay, and her ten counties in 1695 were located five on the Eastern and five on the Western Shore. So whenever legislators voted according to their regional interests, a consensus vote in favor of collective action was hard to achieve. Gov. Nicholson, an able career administrator, complained "G—, I know better to Govern Virginia & Maryland than all the Bishops of England, if I had not hampered them in Maryland & kept them under I should never have been able to have governed them." About this remark the Rev. James Blair commented in a letter to the Bishop of London, "I don't pretend to understand Maryland but if I know anything of Virginia they are a good natured tractable people as any is in the world."¹⁵

Just as these differences were reflected in the character of the two provincial governments, so too they influenced the development of the two educational institutions. They did indeed spring from a common heritage in the same decade; they did indeed enjoy alternately the leadership of governors Nicholson and Andros, and they were promoted by the Church of England at the time of their founding. But from then on they were distant cousins. By charter William and Mary was named for a reigning couple; King William's School for the King only, Queen Mary having died in 1694, a year after the Virginia college was chartered. The sponsors of William and Mary

College specified in their charter the revenues they expected the King to give them as endowments. The Rev. James Blair travelled to England with charter in hand, where friends persuaded him that in addition to a Master and Usher even the Grammar School would need a President to discipline Masters and Scholars.¹⁶ Whereupon he added paragraph 3 to the charter, naming himself President for life. He appealed to a sympathetic and charitable Queen Mary, who got him an audience with the King. He petitioned William on bended knee and received almost all he asked for. Petitioners for King William's School, on the other hand, did not present their charter in person and requested not specific endowments but ones "conformable" to those given by charter to the college in Virginia. The King lent his name and that was all.

Yet, even the magnificent royal endowments that William and Mary College was fortunate enough to receive proved inadequate to create a college. In addition to the duty on the side trade, they included accrued money from quit-rents, the "profits" from the surveyor general's office and twenty thousand acres of land. Forces in the Virginia Assembly thwarted Blair's efforts; his zeal was taken for ambition (they thought he wanted to become a bishop), and as head of a college faction he fought the royal governors as well as the House of Burgesses to gain the support William and Mary needed to become a college. Until the "college" acquired six professors in addition to the President, power of administration and all its property was vested in the nineteen trustees. When its faculty developed to this size, then "according to our Royal Intent . . . the said Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Services, Rectories, Annuities, Pensions, and Advowsons of Churches, [etc.]" should be made over to the President and Faculty. After the transfer, the President and Faculty could elect one of themselves to the House of Burgesses,¹⁷ a parliamentary representation like that allowed the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. When the school thus attained college status, Blair's power, as a consequence, would be further increased, a development the Burgesses postponed as long

as they could. Until 1727, an Usher, then a Master, Usher, and Writing-Master were the sole teachers in the Grammar School.

President Blair had special difficulty in collecting the one penny duty on the side trade. Partly it was the fault of Queen Anne's War—pirates ravaged the sea and trade with England's enemies was virtually impossible. The duty originated in "An Act for the Encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland Trades, and for better securing the Plantation Trade" passed by Parliament in 1673 and was reserved for the use of the Crown. Bray had investigated its availability when looking for funds to support the Church in Maryland only to find that it had already been given to the college in Virginia.¹⁸ When King William and Queen Mary bestowed the duty upon William and Mary College by charter, it was on condition that the college pay the salary of its collectors out of the revenue collected.¹⁹ On several occasions President Blair solicited the help of the Maryland Council to further the collection.

His first solicitation came in 1695 as a directive from the Commissioners of the London Customs House. It asked Maryland's Governor and Council to reduce by fifty percent the fee given to Maryland Collectors (it had already been reduced in Virginia), and to abolish the Office of Comptroller and Surveyor since the Governors of William and Mary intended to audit the accounts themselves and thus save all profits for the college.²⁰

The Council's response is unknown, but the directive certainly reminded it that Maryland's planters were being taxed for the benefit of the Virginia college. Not entirely convinced by Nicholson's glowing account of its vigor, two Councillors asked Gov. Andros how the college was progressing. The first, Col. Henry Coursey of Talbot County, remarked to Gov. Andros that he hoped the college would be of great help to Maryland youth, and Andros had replied, "Pish, it will come to nothing." The second, Philip Clarke of St. Mary's County, reported that Gov. Andros had said to him, "I suppose this College is to teach Children their A.B.C." The reason given in Council for Sir Edmund's barbed remarks was that President Blair had preached a sermon say-

ing that "those who withdrew back & did not forward their helping hand towards the Building of the College would be damned," a remark which had offended the Governor.²¹

This incident suggests the striking difference in the styles affected by the founders of King William's School and those of William and Mary College. Trustees in Maryland, often falteringly, worked through the ordinary channels of the Assembly, responding to built-in tensions between Council and purse-conscious lower house, Governor and Assembly, Eastern Shore and Western Shore, country party and Annapolis party, and the still unresolved conflicts among the various sects in the Province. In contrast, the ever vigilant Rev. James Blair in Virginia initiated all the action: he led a college faction which fought the House of Burgesses, Governor, and even the trustees and clergy, to make his college a reality; and, when they did not cooperate, he called down the wrath of God upon them. In his often pious but autocratic way, he fulfilled the dream of his life and built a splendid college for Virginia. It can be said of the founders of both institutions that they adhered valiantly to their respective goals of founding free schools in Maryland and a college in Virginia.

Fresh from the experience of founding William and Mary College, in October 1694 Gov. Nicholson, when first addressing the Maryland Assembly then sitting in St. Mary's City, urged them to found an educational institution which he termed a free school and offered a generous gift towards its support. Members of the lower house subscribed generously also saying, "Doubt not that every well minded person within this province will contribute the same."²² The Council, too, contributed. Nicholson read them the charter of William and Mary College, suggesting that they draw up a supplication "to present their Sacred Majesties for the Erecting the said free-school conformable as near as may be to the said Charter."²³ Both houses insisted, and indeed persuaded Nicholson, that free schools should be established throughout the counties as well as at Arundell-Town on the Severn where the seat of government would move in the following year.

No text has survived of that portion dealing with establishment of free schools in "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning & Advancement of the Natives of the Province" passed in 1694 in response to Gov. Nicholson's initiative but its contents are known.²⁴ It called for the founding of a free school on the Western Shore at Severn (Annapolis had not yet been founded) and on its successful operation another at Oxford on the Eastern Shore; then, in each of the counties as means permitted. This basic mandate would be repeated in the Act which did survive, that of 1696, and would be adhered to by the legislators until county schools were actually funded in the Act of 1723. But that part called the "Advancement of Natives of this Province" requiring that all provincial jobs not appointed by the Crown be filled by natives of at least three years residence was not reenacted until 1704.²⁵ Both Nicholson and the Assembly realized that local schools were needed to fit native-born men for the offices of church and state.

The Act of 1694 was weak in that it did not mention trustees to carry out its purpose. Recognizing this weakness the Council asked the Assembly what was to be done with the money already levied for the maintenance of a free school or schools.²⁶ Should it not be used to build a small school and maintaining a school master? Having no trustees it could deploy to engage architects and builders, nor to select a schoolmaster, the lower house prudently replied, "Resolved that the money thereby raised should be kept in Bancke."²⁷ Eager to help, the Bishop of London had already sent a schoolmaster named Andrew Geddes to the Province. Unprepared to receive him, the Assembly first assigned him as a reader in a vacant church, and then dispatched him to William and Mary College until a school house could be built in Maryland. No more was heard of him.²⁸

Finally the Council and lower house together wrote and enacted an "Act for Establishing Free Schools" of July 1696.²⁹ In its petitionary preamble it thanks the King "for his royal benediction to our neighboring colony [Virginia] . . . in your gracious Grant and Charter for the propogation of the College" and asks him to extend "your

Royal Grace and Favour to us your Majesty's Subjects of this Province, represented in this your Majesty's General Assembly thereof." It is clearly stated throughout that all the enactments are proposed "with the Advice, Prayer and Consent of this present General Assembly, and the Authority of the Same." It politely informs the King of the Assembly's intent but nowhere pretends, as the charter of William and Mary does, that the enactments originated with the King. The royal "we" appears in every paragraph of the charter for William and Mary College, usually as "we have granted" or "we grant." It is a fiction which the General Assembly in Maryland did not employ.

Like the charter for William and Mary College, Maryland's "Act for Establishing Free Schools" required that there be eighteen to twenty trustees who should elect a rector from among themselves each year to serve as chief officer. In the corporate title of both, the trustees were called Visitors and Governors. Unlike the charter for William and Mary, the Act provided that whenever one or more of the trustees "shall die or remove himself and Family out of this Province into any other country for good and all," he should be replaced by "one or more of the Principal and better Sort of the Inhabitants of the said Province." The charter for William and Mary College, on the other hand, appointed its trustees "for ever" with "perpetual succession," offering no process for removal if they left the Province. First among the group named as trustee was "our trusty and well-beloved Francis Nicholson, our Lieutenant-Governor in our colonies of Virginia and Maryland" who remained a trustee for many years after Blair had ousted him as governor of Virginia because there was no means of lawfully removing him as trustee of the college. Needless to say, when certain men were named trustees for ever, Blair had not anticipated that Nicholson would become his enemy; and when Blair was tenured as President for life, Nicholson had been equally naive. Blair, of course, had thought the "for ever" would last only a few years, believing that the school would quickly develop into a college when the *Statutes* called for in the charter would be

written, vesting power and all property in the President and Faculty. However, that day, when the school was finally awarded college status through the enacting of the *Statutes* by the Assembly, did not arrive for more than thirty years.

In September of 1696, the lower house of Maryland's General Assembly instructed the Sheriffs throughout the province to collect all subscriptions, and commanded the trustees with all convenient speed to meet together and treat with workmen (a bricklayer had just arrived from Philadelphia) to agree upon a building proportionable to the tobacco and money subscribed.³⁰

Four years later the school house was built.³¹ On May 7, 1700 ten of the original nineteen Visitors and Governors named in the Act of 1696 met with the Bishop of London's Commissary, the Rev. Thomas Bray, during his visitation to Maryland. After filling county vacancies on the board occasioned by death or departure of trustees from the province, "they proceed to know what money is raised toward building the said Schools [schools in the counties]."³² Representatives of all eleven counties were present except those from Anne Arundel and St. Mary's. Two Cantabrigians were among the completed board membership of 1700: Robert Smith was a graduate³³ and newly appointed Col. Thomas Greenfield had attended Cambridge University.³⁴ Six were members of the Governor's Council, who, acting as Visitors and Governors, agreed upon compensation due the free school because of occupation of a school house room by the Council (no quarters had been provided them in the new state house). Six years later the Rector and the Visitors and Governors were to demand payment from the Assembly for past rent, claiming that an agreement to that effect had been made on May 3, 1700.³⁵ Undoubtedly in 1700 the Council thought their occupation a temporary arrangement but were nonetheless uncertain of its propriety, for on May 13, 1701 they said to the lower house,

Whereas the free school wee now sit in hath been built in great measure by the Subscriptions of Severall private psons well affected to that good Designe, who are desirous to see the good effect thereof, It is

recommended to your house to consider how the best use may be made of the sayd house, it being now finished, And also that you will take care to provide some convenient fitting place for his Majesty's Council to sitt in in Assembly time for the better dispatch of business.³⁶

The lower house made no effort to provide other quarters for the Council. But four years later a majority of the house, like the Council, believed that the "good Designe" for free schools was jeopardized by rental of the school house for government use. The house felt it necessary to enact a bill on September 30, 1704, reaffirming its support for free schools which read, "the petitionary Act to establish . . . free schools is declared to be in full force to all Intents construccions and purposes."³⁷ Its good intentions, however, were defeated by events: on October 17, 1704 the new state house burned, prolonging the occupation of the school house not only by the Council but also by the Public Library (the Bray library) and the public records until another state house was built in 1711.

Meanwhile, in Virginia, the Rev. James Blair was having his own troubles. The side trade was hampered by Queen Anne's war against France. From what little trade there was, President Blair wanted more levy money than he was receiving. He did not hesitate in August 1704 to ask the Governor of Maryland "to quicken the Collectors in making up their Accounts of the one Penny . . . and to take Bond from the said Collectors to the College for their Answering." The Council replied that "they do think the Collectors have already given Bond Sufficient to Answer the said Duty."³⁸ It is possible that the Customs Collectors had little incentive to gather the duty after President Blair appropriated the fee they ordinarily received for their trouble; and Maryland had little interest in helping collect a levy from which it derived no benefit. It was difficult enough for the Councillor-trustees to rally support in the lower house for the free school in Annapolis, which the country party viewed as operating at county expense. In addition to Blair's disappointment over the small amount of revenue coming from the one penny duty, disaster struck his college on October 29, 1705.

Fire destroyed the college building, which was sheltering both the House of Burgesses and the college grammar school. The college then had no building at all—to occupy itself or rent out—until it built a new one more than ten years later.

King William's School also waited more than ten years to gain full possession of its school house. A kind of stalemate existed between the trustees and the lower house, which refused to pay fair rent for the school house. Finally, in 1706, the trustees took a firm stance, saying they would either receive fair rent or sell. This brought the lower house around. The deal struck for rental of the whole building must have been agreeable to both parties,³⁹ trustees and legislators, for they do not discuss it again until 1709, when the Council complained to the lower house that an open chest standing in free school porch "is exposed to the Weather so that several Certificates of Land . . . are damnified and spoiled."⁴⁰ Once more the lower house was dilatory: two years later the same complaint was lodged. The completion of the state house in 1711 relieved the situation, for in it a Council office was provided.⁴¹

Presumably there were a master and scholars meeting elsewhere in Annapolis as the lower house mentions them in connection with their use of the Public Library.⁴² The first master whose name we know was the Rev. Edward Butler who began teaching some time before 1710. From that year until his death in 1713 he was both Rector of St. Anne's and Master of King William's School.⁴³ In 1711 the Committee of Aggrievances of the Assembly reiterated the desire of each county for a free school of its own:

It is humbly offered by this Committee as an Aggrievance that the Country receives no Benefit by the Duties paid for the Maintenance of the free School and they pray the House to consider whether the present Governors and Visitors of the free School apply the Monay arising by Virtue of such Duties according to the Act for that Purpose made and whether the said Governors and Visitors have any Right thereto.⁴⁴

In answer the House suggested in November 1713

that forasmuch as most of the trustees in the Act named are dead and departed the

present Rector, Governor and Visitors be such with the Addition of one out of those Counties where there are none already. The Money now in the Treasurers' Hands belonging to the ffree Schools be called in and let out on good land security . . . That the Accounts of the ffree Schools be yearly laid before the House for their inspection.⁴⁵

To this Capt. Jones, for the trustees, readily replied that "the Number of Governors and Visitors is already compleat . . . but Cecil, Charles and Somerset," and as for the money in the hands of Col. Smithson, Treasurer of the Eastern Shore, who by his own admission is "very aged and crazy," they would ask for land security (which they got by way of a farm in Dorchester County named "Surveyor's Choice"), and they would "always be glad to shew the Gen. Assembly the Accounts of their Proceedings."⁴⁶

When John Hart arrived from England in 1714 as the first royal governor since 1709—the President of the Council had acted as governor from 1709–1714—he circulated a questionnaire prepared by the Bishop of London to the clergy asking among other things about the education of Maryland children. It revealed that "the case of schools is very bad, Good School-masters are very much wanting."⁴⁷ This, of course, was what the country party had been saying for years. Gov. Hart noted the lack of schools in his first address to the Assembly on October 5, 1714.

Providence in his bounty has blessed the Inhabitants of this Province with a numerous Issue but It is a deplorable Reflection that no better Provision is made for the Education of your youth, there being but a slender support for one School on the Western and none on the Eastern Shore of this so wide a bay.

I do earnestly recommend this Gentlemen to your Consideration being a Duty incumbent upon you as you will acquit yourselves to God & the Queen like good Fathers & good subjects.⁴⁸

Good Queen Anne died within the year. Her successor, George the First, restored full proprietary power to Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore, age fifteen, who had Lord Guilford as guardian. Young Charles had been raised in the Church of England, his father having converted, and so was

acceptable to the Protestant government of Maryland.

In a new optimism which followed the restoration of 1715, the Rector and the Visitors and Governors of the Free Schools redefined their purpose, "the Ends for which we were incorporated," and stated their claim to certain properties long ago bequeathed them. They also asked to be enabled by law to conduct business with a quorum of five trustees present, it being difficult, they said, to assemble a majority of their members at any one time from the distant counties.⁴⁹ Their well expressed determination was matched by suitable legislation passed in 1715 vesting in them and "their Successors for ever, a certain lot of Land in the City of Annapolis, and an House thereon erected, commonly called the Kentish House; and empowering the said Rector and Visitors more easily to transact the Business of the said Free-Schools."⁵⁰

In addition, at a meeting of the Visitors and Governors in May 1715, Thomas Bordley, "speedily designed on a voyage to England," was commissioned "to use his Endeavors to invite & Procure some Discreet & learned person . . . as an Usher at the said schools . . . that he may Expect upon Vacancy of Provost Master thereof to be propos'd in his Place, or otherwise to be Master of another Freeschool erected on the Eastern Shore."⁵¹ We know that Bordley did their bidding because Gov. Hart wrote Bishop Robinson in 1717, "Mr. Warner who behaves himself with Prudence was on the first meeting of the Visitors of the Free Schools, admitted as Usher to the School of Annapolis."⁵²

All these were forward steps in the development of King William's School, but its means of support were still slim. For twenty-two years the Council had not officially questioned the fairness of the one penny per pound from the side trade going in its entirety to the college in Virginia. It was the Crown's to give. But as trade increased after 1714 and Maryland had desperate need for additional funds to develop schools, members of House and Council naturally wondered why all the levy should go to Virginia when it came from tobacco raised partly on Maryland plantations. The question first raised its head in the Council,

where the most eminent of the provincial attorneys sat, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1715.

On that day Charles Carroll who had been appointed by Charles, Lord Baltimore "our chief Agent, Escheator, Naval Officer, & Receiver General of all our Rents, Fines, Forfeitures, Tobaccos or Moneys for Lands, etc.," brought instructions from the King to Gov. Hart. Members of the Carroll family were held in high esteem by the Calverts who had entrusted their business to them for several generations. The royal instructions began thus:

First. You shall give directions & take especial Care that John Hart, Esq. Deputy Governour of our Province of Maryland do the first place inform himself of the Principal Laws relating to the Plantation Trade Viz . . .

. . . An Act for the encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland Trades; and for the better securing the Plantation Trade.⁵³

At the reading of the instructions Gov. Hart unfortunately was more concerned that Mr. Carroll, a Catholic, refused to take the oath of abjuration required of all men holding provincial offices than he was in the King's communication. Deeply disturbed that the Lords Baltimore and Guilford would employ someone as Naval Officer in violation of the act which established the Protestant religion in Maryland, he publicly considered resigning as governor. This was the year the King of France recognized James the Pretender as true King of England and some Maryland hotheads shot off a cannon in honor of the Pretender's birthday.⁵⁴ Fear that there were Jacobites among Maryland's Catholics caused Gov. Hart's unease and distraction. Had he studied the Act made in the twenty-fifth year of the Reign of King Charles the Second as instructed by the King, he might have more quickly become sensitive to the ancient linkage of the Maryland and Virginia plantations in the duty bestowed in its entirety upon Virginia. But instead of questioning the levy, he quarrelled with Charles Carroll and throughout 1717 continued to exhort the Assembly to find means to provide better for the education of Maryland children. It required an aggravation of another sort to focus his

attention on the lack of generosity shown Maryland by the Crown: the erection of a beautiful college building for William and Mary in Williamsburg,⁵⁵ a visible monument to the extraordinary generosity of the Crown toward that college.

Conscious of its splendor, in 1719 Hart admitted to the Assembly "your abilities [your wealth] do not come up to your desire for that laudable end [to build schools]."⁵⁶ By this time fully informed about the law of the tobacco trade which had enriched William and Mary College, he was persuaded to ask the Lords Baltimore and Guilford to beg a fair share of the King's bounty for Maryland schools:

The good People of this province [he wrote them] have paid Large Sums of money towards the Encouragement of Learning there [William and Mary College] which the Distance of the Place And the Great Charge of Schooling Children hath made altogether useless to us; For such psons as are of Ability to Defray such Charge choose Rather to Educate their Children in Great Britain . . . We are humbly of Opinion . . . that we should have Some share in his Royall Bounty Toward the Support of a Free School already Built at Annapolis and that the one Penny p pound to be Collected within this Province . . . might be applied to the use and Support thereof.⁵⁷

The Proprietors received the royal answer in April 1720: it was negative. Gov. Hart was sorry to report to the Assembly that they "can have no Expectation of benefit from the Duty . . . having Setled the same for ever on the College of Virginia."⁵⁸ But in the October 1720 session of the Assembly the Lords Baltimore and Guilford suggested that a moiety of the 3^d per hogshead of tobacco the Assembly allowed Gov. Hart should be applied to the school at Annapolis, a proposal the lower house agreed to.

In his speech of 1717 Gov. Hart had said, "The Province is now in the most happy Condition that ever it was since the first Settlement."⁵⁹ Such a change for the better can be detected in the temper of the Assembly *Proceedings*. The lower house now acted, whereas it formerly had found legalistic reasons for saying no. In 1720 arrangements were made to finish a room for the

Publick Library,⁶⁰ and the Committee of Accounts was ordered to pay the Rector and the Visitors and Governors of the Free School the sum of eighty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence current money for the rent of the school house, which they did without demur. Twenty-five years after the chartering of King William's School its school house was tenanted by the school master and its rooms were available for classes. Furthermore, the lower house acted favorably on a petition from Michael Piper,⁶¹ Master of the Free School at Annapolis, asking that "vacant ground lying between the School House and the Stadt House be granted him for a small Garden."⁶² We know also that an usher was at the school. By 1721 King William's School had attained the desired stability described by its charter—one master, one usher, and an annual income of one hundred and twenty pounds for their support, and one hundred scholars more or less. By charter this was the signal to establish schools in all the counties. Enough had been collected for that purpose from an "Imposition on Sundry Commodities exported out of, and other imported into, this Province, which has succeeded with such desired Effect." "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, and erecting Schools in the several Counties within this Province" was passed in October 1723, naming seven Visitors in each county to receive funds and to build and organize a school in each.⁶³

The fund was divided into twelve parts for the twelve existing counties, to build a school near the center of each. King William's School did not share in this distribution. Besides the school house and the Public Library in its charge, it had enough income to survive from the moiety of the three pence allowed Gov. Hart and from various taxes,⁶⁴ rental properties, gifts and legacies. Now that the counties had the means to develop free schools of their own, the country party no longer jealously watched how the trustees of King William's School expended public funds, thus allowing them a free hand to develop the Annapolis school.

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 15. J. E. Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (The Endowment Association of the College of William and Mary, Inc., 1976), p. 50.
 16. Commissary James Blair to Gov. Francis Nicholson, 3 December 1691, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 7 (College Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary).
 17. *The History of the College of William and Mary (Including the General Catalogue) from its Foundation 1660; to 1874* (Richmond, J. Randolph & English, 1874), pp. 37-47. For text of charter see "Charter granted by King William and Queen Mary for the founding of William and Mary College in Virginia," in Henry Hartwell, James Blair and Edward Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College* (Charlottesville, Dominion Books, 1694) pp. 72-94. "To the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary of Ministers of the Gospel, and that the Youth may be piously educated in Good Letters and Manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the Glory of Almighty God, to make, found and establish a certain Place of universal Study, or perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good Arts and Sciences, consisting of one President, six Masters or Professors, and an hundred scholars more or less, according to the Ability of the said College, and the Statutes of the same to be made, encreased or changed by certain Trustees nominated and elected by the General Assembly," The Statues could not be written until six professors were in place which was not until 1727.
 18. Perry, 4:59.
 19. "Charter . . . for William and Mary College."
 20. *Archives* 20:341, 342.
 21. *Archives* 20:235, 237.
 22. *Archives* 19:36, 49.
 23. *Archives* 19:51.
 24. "An Act for the Incouragement of Learning and the Advancement of the Natives of this Province" in *Archives* 19:49, 100, 101.
 25. see Sollers, pp. 21, 22.
 26. *Archives* 19:276, "Imposition upon Ffurrs and Skins to be Employed for the maintenance of a ffree school or schools" passed October 1695.
 27. *Archives* 19:252.
 28. *Archives* 19:447, 463, 492, 493. See also Sollers p. 21.
 29. "Act for Establishing Free Schools," [1696].
 30. *Archives* 29:287.
 31. M. L. Radoff, *Buildings of the State of Maryland in Annapolis*, Publication of Hall of Records Commission, 1954.
 32. "Annapolis, May the 7, 1700. At a Meeting of the Governors and Visitors of the Free Schools" (Bray ms. in Sion College Library, London) copy in Library of Congress. Trustees present: Col. Charles Hutchins (Dorchester), Robert Smith (Talbot), Thomas Tasker (Prince George's), Col. John Addison (Somerset), Maj. Edward Dorsey (Baltimore), Maj. William Dent (Charles), Col. John Thompson (Cecil), Lt. Col. Thomas Ennalls (Dorchester), Lt. Col. Thomas Smith (Kent).
 33. Carr and Jordan, p. 278.
 34. E. C. Papenfuse, A. F. Day, D. W. Jordan and Gregory Stiverson, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1889* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979) 1:374.
 35. *Archives* 26:602.
 36. *Archives* 24:179.
 37. *Archives* 26:361. "An Act declaring the Petitionary Act relating to the ffree-holders [!] to be in force."
 38. *Archives* 25:179.
 39. *Archives* 26:616.
 40. *Archives* 27:428.
 41. *Archives* 29:66.

42. *Archives* 29:297.
43. Ethan Allen, p. 41.
44. *Archives* 29:159.
45. *Archives* 29:287.
46. *Archives* 29:299.
47. Perry, 4:76.
48. *Archives* 29:452.
49. *Archives* 30:41, 42.
50. *Archives* 36:498-500.
51. "At a meeting of the Rector, Governors and Visitors of the Free Schools held in the city of Annapolis on Tuesday the 6th of September anno Domini 1715," (Fulham Papers, reel 1, v. 2 #221-222) in Library of Congress. Present: Rev. Joseph Colbatch, Rector, the Governor, Hon. Samuel Young, Hon Philemon Lloyd, Rev. Henry Hall, Rev. William Hinderforth, Mr. William Bladen.
52. Gov. John Hart to Bishop Robinson, 20 June 1717 (Fulham Papers, reel 1, v. 2 #227-228) in Library of Congress.
53. *Archives* 39:386, 387. See also Great Britain, *Statutes of the Realm*, 1819, v. 5, 25 Carolus II, c. 7, p. 793.
54. *Archives* 30:373.
55. *Archives* 33:354; Morpurgo, pp. 58-64.
56. *Archives* 33:370.
57. *Archives* 33:629. See *History of William and Mary* pp. 83-84 for list of students before 1720.
58. *Archives* 34:11.
59. *Archives* 33:59.
60. *Archives* 34:95.
61. Also Clerk or Registrar, of St. Anne's Vestry. See St. Anne's Parish, *Vestry Minutes, 1713-67* (in Hall of Records), p. 117. Mention of the scholars at King William's are so few that the following paragraph has interest: "It is the desire of the Minister, Vestry and Church wardens now mett together that the School Master of Annapolis and the Charity Boys upon the Foundation of the Schoole of Annapolis be permitted during the vacancy of the Assembly consent to Sitt in the front seat joining the back door, till such time as further provision can be made for them." (Dec. 5, 1721) p. 123.
62. *Archives* 34:302.
63. *Archives* 34:740-746.
64. For summary of taxes levied for benefit of free schools see Oswald Tilghman. *History of Talbot County, Md. 1661-1861* (Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins, 1925), pp. 462-465.

Old St. Paul's Cemetery, Baltimore

R. KENT LANCASTER

ONCE AGAIN ON THE MORNING OF July 4, 1980, Baltimore's Old St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Cemetery celebrated its annual event. The iron gates on Redwood Street across from the University of Maryland Medical Center were opened for the only time in the year specifically to bring the community into the neatly manicured burial ground. Small flags, marking graves of veterans of the Revolutionary War, drooped in the summer stillness as perspiring citizens outside on Redwood Street struggled into replicas of uniforms from the same war. That most had parked their cars in spaces reserved for University physicians probably seemed unimportant on St. Paul's yearly occasion.

Shortly after ten the uniformed color guard, composed of members of the John Eager Howard Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, marched through the gateway down the central walk of the cemetery and after some well-executed maneuvers stood at attention before the grave of Samuel Chase, one of Maryland's four signers of the Declaration of Independence. The drummer, who was also president of the Chapter and, in default of the invited orator, the principal speaker of the day, welcomed an audience which, including the Mayor of Baltimore, four or five volunteer workers at the cemetery, and a descendant of Chase, numbered about thirty. Mayor William Donald Schaefer compared the assembly, in spirit if not in numbers, to the estimated quarter of a million he had welcomed to the opening of Harborplace earlier in the week, but the rest of his remarks were lost to a faulty amplification system and a pair of raucous cat birds in an ancient yew nearby. After Chase's descendant was introduced, the drummer-orator spoke

briefly and well of her ancestor's contributions to his new nation. A venerable plastic wreath was placed on the Signer's grave, and the ceremony was over. The color guard marched out briskly, followed rather quickly by mayor and descendant. Someone retrieved the wreath, apparently to prevent further fading of its once patriotic colors. St. Paul's day of the year was over; it had, in fact, been crowded into a little less than an hour.¹

The 180-year old cemetery had known better days. Opened at the very beginning of the nineteenth century it had claimed a large share of those men and women who established Baltimore as one of the major cities in the new United States; its list of plottolders is a catalog of the city's great and near-great—mercantile, political, philanthropic—from the early national period into the 1830s—at least those of Episcopalian persuasion. Its proudest moment, perhaps, occurred in 1827 when the President of the United States and his cabinet marched behind the bier of Colonel John Eager Howard from services in the city to interment in the family lot. Fortune changed, however, for by 1840 new styles of burial and new cemeteries reflected altered patterns of national thought. Many had begun to consider St. Paul's an anachronism. From the 1870s conflict swirled between the costs of maintaining a dying cemetery in an expanding city and changing perceptions of what if anything a community owed its notable dead. The cemetery became an embarrassment to its mother church and its city, and neither conflict nor embarrassment has been resolved. St. Paul's Cemetery provides an interesting case study of issues and problems that have claimed the attention of preservationists for decades and whose solutions still elude them.

Old St. Paul's was, in fact, the third and

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last cemetery attached to the church. The parish, established in 1692, placed its first church on the Patapsco Neck near Sollers and North Point Roads, and a burial ground grew up around it. When that congregation moved in the 1720–30s to Baltimore Town, the church was reestablished permanently on the site which was later to be identified as Charles and Saratoga Streets. Again a burial ground developed around the church, and in the 1760s the Vestry had remains transferred from the original Patapsco Neck site. Ethan Allen, the earliest historian of St. Paul's, suggests that this transfer was a haphazard one indeed, with only a part of the remains coming to Baltimore. He noted, for example, that even the first two rectors of St. Paul's were apparently left behind.²

The new graveyard at Charles and Saratoga filled up quickly as city and county grew. By the end of the century, the Vestry was searching for newer grounds. An enabling act of the Legislature paved the way in 1797, and in 1800 the Vestry purchased from Sam Smythe, merchant, two contiguous parcels of land west of the newly incorporated city's limits. The land lay in a section of Baltimore County known as Ridgely's Delight and was bordered, ostensibly at least, by Cider Alley and Cove (now Fremont) Street, and by the projected extensions of German (now Redwood) and Lombard Streets. Although Baltimore City lay well within view to the east, the site must have seemed pleasantly rural at the time, with large country estates surrounding it on three sides and only a single distant thoroughfare, the Frederick Turnpike, punctuating the pastoral simplicity.³

The limits of the newly purchased parcels of land brought some nagging problems in the early years. First, the question of whether the site lay on Lombard Street extended arose. Then the Vestry discovered that the cemetery was cut off from Redwood Street by a five foot strip owned by Alexander Robinson, whose estate stretched northward from the burial ground. Finally, Ridgely heirs claimed a similar strip on the Cove Street side. Samuel Smythe settled the first problem with a deed of assurance that the burial ground did lie on Lombard; indeed, when condem-

nation proceedings for that street were under way in 1815, the cemetery lost a strip some fifty feet wide to the road bed. The last two problems were solved amicably by nominal payments of £5 each to Robinson and the Ridgely heirs for the strips along Cove and Redwood Streets.⁴

The Vestry intended to use only the eastern four-fifths of the property for a cemetery, for in the first year of ownership and continuing until 1836 it negotiated a series of leases and sales of lots carved some 100 feet deep from the Cove Street side of the property. All of the leaseholds reverted to Vestry control, but a sale in 1829 of lots at Cove and Redwood alienated that corner from the cemetery permanently. The Vestry apparently came to regret very quickly the sale of a lot deep down Cove Street to Robert Gilmore in 1836, for it repurchased the lot from Gilmore four years later, giving the Presbyterian merchant a profit of more than 200 per cent. With this repurchase, Old St. Paul's Cemetery assumed the dimensions it was to retain until 1974.⁵

A decade after the establishment of its third burial ground, St. Paul's Church ordered the removal of remains from the Charles and Saratoga Streets churchyard into the new cemetery. This transfer was completed by July 1811 at a cost of \$1025 and entailed at least 205 individuals. Many of the dead were moved into new plots purchased by their families; Nicholas Rogers, Jr., for example, brought his father's remains and the great slab commemorating him into his own plot. The elder Rogers' stone documents the earliest burial—1756—for which there is physical evidence in St. Paul's Cemetery today. Older remains, certainly, exist unmarked in the cemetery. Some of the oldest, unidentifiable in 1811, were buried in the northwestern part of the cemetery. This was the second time they had been exhumed and moved; their third journey was still some 165 years in the future.⁶

Even before the purchase of the property was complete, the Vestry had begun to turn the area into a cemetery. In early 1800, it had the site surveyed at a cost of £45 and paid £3 for cedar posts and nails for a temporary fence. The eastern end of the purchase was laid out with six rows of plots

and three paths running north and south, cut by a single east-west walkway. Plots, finally numbering 166 in this section, were sold with a standard depth of twenty-four feet and with frontages in multiples of eight feet. One plot was reserved for the clergy and two others for strangers or "respectable outsiders who died in the parish." Typical of the latter was Edward Biddle, sometime speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania and Congressman, whose remains and marble slab were removed from the old churchyard into the strangers lot. The frontage of lots in this Eastern part of the cemetery was apparently at the discretion of the buyer as long as a multiple of eight feet was chosen. Most of the larger plots in the cemetery lie south of the walkway that divides this section into two equal parts. In this southeastern section, eighty-two percent of the fifty plots have a frontage larger than eight feet; less than one percent of the 116 plots in the equal area to the north do.⁷

The southeastern section is worthy of closer study. It reflects a sense of community and stands almost as a microcosm of the upper levels of Episcopalian Baltimore at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. Although it is not obvious to the casual observer, plots in the section were selected with logic—logic based on family relationship, business partnership, standing in the community, and shared common interests. As might be expected in a town still as small as Baltimore was in the early nineteenth century, there are many blood and marital ties among those buried in that section and indeed with buyers in other parts of the cemetery as well. Those ties, in fact, helped more to determine plot choice than any other factor. The relationships among three contiguous plots in the section, for example, become clear only when such ties are understood. Plot 64 was sold to Nicholas Rogers, 65 to John Merryman, and 36 to William R. Smith. Mrs. John Merryman was, in fact, the linchpin here. She was a niece of Nicholas Rogers and, by her first marriage, the mother of Smith. Her brother, Benjamin Rogers, is buried with his wife in Smith's lot. What might have become the Rogers corner of the section, however, did not develop past the first generation. Nicholas Rogers, Jr. married

the heiress of Druid Hill; he and his descendants are buried there, and his St. Paul's plot came into the hands of the Arthur Rich family. No burials are recorded in the Merryman vault after the first generation; and Smith was apparently buried elsewhere after interring his wife and several infants in St. Paul's.⁸

George Hoffman, who bought plot number 1 in the southeast corner, is a good example of the widest sort of family ties in the cemetery. He married first Eliza Tilghman, and his sisters-in-law married Nicholas and Henry Brice, who owned lots 406 and 407 in the western part of the cemetery. Through Eliza, he was also connected with the Cooks and Claphams in lots 89 and 90, the van Wycks in 56, the Howards in 85, and the Goldsboroughs and Kerrs in 36. Hoffman's second wife was Henrietta Rogers, grand-daughter of Nicholas Rogers in lot 65 and cousin of Mrs. Merryman and William R. Smith. She was more distantly related by marriage to Dr. Ashton Alexander and John Sterrett Gittings, who bought lots 41 and 55. Hoffman's son married a grand-daughter of John Eager Howard; and a daughter married William Gilmore II, strengthening Cook-Clapham ties and forming others with John Sherlock in lot 3. Other close relatives married a Curzon from lot 86 and a Birkhead from lot 119.

Even more complicated patterns of relationship could be demonstrated for the Howards, the Hollingsworths and others in the southeastern section. As the generations passed, relations became so complex and close that it was not surprising to find a Howard buried in the Thomas Hollingsworth vault or Hollingsworths in the Glenn and Harrison vaults or Gibsons and Birkheads in the MacCauley vault. Some of the ties in the section, however, lay entirely in the future; buyers of those plots had no idea they would be connected in later generations. Thomas L. Emory, lot 35, and George G. Presbury, lot 88, certainly never envisaged their twentieth century linkage as two of the great-grandfathers of Wallis, Duchess of Windsor.

Although information on those who bought lots in the southeastern section is spotty and incomplete, it is still possible to sketch something of a collective biography

of the group. Of the fifty who bought lots in the section, the average purchaser was a 47 year old white male who would live to sixty-six, dying in 1819. His life expectancy was well ahead of other white Baltimoreans at the time. In contrast, the mean age of all those buried in the city's three Episcopal cemeteries in 1819 was only twenty-four, and even when children under ten are excluded, that mean age rises only to forty-two. The average purchaser was old enough when the cemetery opened to have achieved standing in the groups to which he belonged and he had achieved it. He was a man of means. He lived in the 1798 Federal Tax Assessment district three—the most affluent in the city—or on a country estate nearby. That Tax Assessment shows that seventy-eight percent of the buyers in the section owned property in Baltimore and/or Baltimore County which was assessed at more than the minimum value. The mean assessed value of the property of these thirty-nine individuals was \$12,162. Thirty, or sixty percent, of the plot-owners were also slave-owners, with an average of eleven slaves each. The typical buyer in the southeastern section was among the wealthier citizens of his city.⁹

Nearly every buyer was native-born or had emigrated from Ireland or England. Although there are some outstanding exceptions, he was most likely to be a self-made man, having achieved his position personally and not through inheritance or family patronage. While data on formal education are sparse, the typical buyer was literate and involved in cultural affairs and in movements to improve the quality of life in his city.

A variety of occupations are represented in the section, but the typical buyer was a merchant. He might also have his own wharf, as did Daniel Bowly (lot 27) and Samuel and Thomas Hollingsworth (112 and 84) or preside over his own counting house as did Richard Curzon (86), Archibald Campbell (59), and Thomas Hollingsworth. The most numerous group of buyers who were not merchants were the four simply designated in city registers as "gentlemen." These gentlemen, Howard, Merryman, William Cook and James Long, perhaps claimed this designation on heral-

dic grounds, but each owned extensive lands and houses in the city and county, the income from which obviated the need to engage in other work. Other buyers spread across a spectrum of occupations ranging from doctor and attorney to tailor and brewer.¹⁰

The typical buyer in the southeastern section could boast at the end of his life of considerable service to his city, state and nation. The most outstanding representative of military service during the Revolution was John Eager Howard, but there are a dozen others in the section, too, who served in that war, one—George Lindemberger (115)—who contributed heavily as military commissary in Baltimore, and four others—Bowly, Curzon, John Dorsey (121), and James Buchanan (118)—whose fleets of privateers were a necessary support to the military effort. Three of the fifty sat on the first City Council and another, John Merryman, served as president of its Second Branch. Others were members of subsequent Councils; the twelve councilmen in the section were elected to a total of forty terms. Two mayors, Edward Johnson, Jr. (30), and Jacob Small (32), were plowholders, serving a total of eight terms. Another seven buyers held judicial commissions during their lifetimes.¹¹

The group served as organizers, charterers and directors of a broad range of public service commissions for the physical, social, and economic development of Baltimore. William Lorman (63), for example, was one of the charterers and president of the Gas Light Company, helped organize the Manufacturers Society and was a commissioner for laying out the city's streets. He, James Buchanan, and William Cook (90) helped organize the Baltimore Water Supply Company, and William McCreery (144) helped found the Baltimore Dispensary. Several served as jail commissioners and others on commissions to lay out turnpikes, to administer the jail, to fortify the fort, and to build a memorial to George Washington. At least ten men in the section were founders, directors or officers in Baltimore's early insurance and banking institutions; two, Lorman and George Hoffman, were members of the first Board of Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

At the state and national level, at least two, Daniel Bowly and James Hindman (58), served in the state legislature, Hindman for seventeen terms. Howard was Governor of Maryland from 1788–91; William McCreery and William Hindman served in Congress and the same Hindman and Howard sat in the United States Senate. For a burial ground only two-thirds of an acre in extent, the southeastern section of St. Paul's is the resting place of a significant number of those individuals who helped win the independence of their society and to plot its way through its early years. Their standing in their community is suggested by the fact that twenty-seven of the fifty names represented in plots in the section have come down to the present as names of streets or districts in their city.

The northeastern section, across the central walk, never quite rose to the level of its neighbor. Most of its plots are smaller; its plotheolders' mean income and life expectancy were significantly less than those to the southeast and their record of achievements not so full. With some marked exceptions, what is almost a class division exists between the sections. The southern and western edges of the northeastern section—the exceptions—were sold to men whose names are a solid part of local and even national history: Samuel Chase (166), William Winchester (38), James Carroll (95), Hercules Courtenay (164), William Clemm (136), Hugh Jenkins (172), Zebulon Hollingsworth (123), and Abraham Worthington—men whose interests, resources and status linked them closely with their fellows to the south. Most of the early buyers in the section, however, were simpler types. The contrast is exemplified, perhaps, by the famous Colonel Howard to the south and Griffith Evans (46) to the north. Evans enlisted as a private in Captain Robert Harris' Company of the Flying Camp Militia in 1776, served valiantly, and won a commission in 1779. After the war he settled down in Baltimore as a cooper, leaving few more details about his life than are carved out in his cemetery plot.¹²

To the west of these two sections over three hundred plots were marked off, many as small as eight by twelve feet. Subscriptions for some of these were sold when the

cemetery was first opened and others were contracted for by families as immediate need for them arose. New, smaller pockets of fashion and status came into being among them. The Brice brothers, Henry and Nicholas, chose plots near the western limit of the German Street frontage, and selections nearby were made by George Crosdale (409), John Donnell (398), William H. Winder (394), Byrom Grundy (356), James Partridge (354), and Benjamin Ringgold (352). Just to the south, a path, wider than any in the western part of the cemetery, leads down a once stylish collection of plots whose owners included Bishop James Kemp (340), Judges Elias and John Glenn (378), Solomon Betts (391), James Barroll (390), Robert A. Taylor (380), and Richard Norris (392). A row of imposing granite vaults lines the path today, and somewhere nearby is the plot chosen by Reverdy Johnson.¹³

When the property to the extreme west came back into the Vestry's hands in the 1830s, burials began there. Among the more unusual was that of Isaac McKim (482), who apparently forsook any of the more prestigious areas, for which he was eminently qualified in every way, to rest among simpler folk. Two rectors of St. Paul's, William E. Wyatt (485) and Milo Mahan (500), also chose burial in this area. The far northwestern section of the cemetery was designated public, charity, or orphans ground. Here a plot large enough for a single burial could be purchased, or if the deceased had no family or the family no funds, the church absorbed the costs. Burial here was sparse although some of these plots were used for several burials with the sexton simply deepening the ground for each new interment.¹⁴

Burials apparently began in St. Paul's Cemetery as soon as the land was legally transferred to the Vestry. Time and vandalism have erased many of the markers that once commemorated the dead and many, particularly infants, were never marked in stone at all. The pleasant openness of St. Paul's today, however, is misleading; many a plot which now seems empty saw repeated burials during the nineteenth century. It is impossible to know how many were interred in St. Paul's in any

year until 1828, for up to that year burials recorded in the church's register included those in the Broadway and Orleans Street burial ground of St. Paul's chapel, Christ Church, without distinction as to which cemetery was used. Nearly 200 burials are listed for 1800, however, and more than 1100 for the first decade the two cemeteries were in existence. The "population" of St. Paul's is indeed far larger than one might imagine from its appearance today.

The church's register outlines something of the pattern of death and burial in the early nineteenth century. Death was first of all an ever present part of the human state. It usually occurred at home among the family and it was the family who prepared the body and made the coffin, unless this was procured from a local cabinet maker. Because embalming was not introduced until the second half of the century, time was of the essence and burial was virtually al-

October, probably because of a late frost. The congregation, and indeed the city, must have looked with foreboding on the approach of mid-summer.

Another stark feature of life and death in the early nineteenth century was the appalling rate of infant mortality. Ages are not recorded in the register until 1817, but in the following ten years a full forty percent of those buried in the two cemeteries were less than ten years old. Little physical evidence of infant mortality exists in St. Paul's, only the occasional inclusion of an infant on its mother's stone when the mother died in childbirth, as did Mrs. Margaret Dugan Smith in lot 36. When the evidence is there, however, it is impressive. Consider, for example, the inscription on the great marble slab which covers the crypt of Christopher Hughes and his son-in-law, General George Armistead (148). It reads in part:

To the memory of their beloved children this monument is dedicated
by their affectionate parents, Christopher and Peggy Hughes:

Erected A. D. 1811

Elizabeth Hughes	died 1783	Aged 2 years
Eleanor Hughes	1785	10 months
William Hughes	1795	12 years
Edward Hughes	1796	6 years
William Henry Hughes	1796	3 years
John H. Hughes	1796	11 months
Joseph Hughes	1798	6 months
Francis Hughes	1800	4 months

ways the day after death. Surprisingly, December and February were the healthiest months in the year; summer and early fall were the dread seasons. Year after year in the early nineteenth century, even when disease did not reach epidemic proportions, the parish register catalogs burial rates in July, August, September, and early October almost double those of other months. More than half those buried in the cemeteries from 1800 through 1809 were buried in those months. 1800, for example, was an epidemic year although one in which contagion spread rather late. Only eleven deaths are recorded for July, as compared with an average of seven for the preceeding six months. In August, however, burials soared to thirty-five, then to fifty-three in September, dropping only to thirty-four in

The Hughes lost eight children in seventeen years, three of them within a month of each other in the summer of 1796.

Although the church regulated its burial ground very carefully in the early years, it still collected there a wide variety of the representatives of human experience. The cemetery was conceived, certainly, to serve the parish; but the Vestry nonetheless opened it to burial to other Christians, provided that the service was performed by parish clergy and that additional fees were paid. A tariff of fees, published in 1804, noted that "outsiders" might buy lots and secure burial services by paying half again what a member of the church was charged. Outsiders were also charged the large fee of \$10 for erecting a tombstone and a substantial footage fee of building a crypt—fees not

charged members. Nevertheless, considerable evidence of use of the cemetery by non-members exists. James Long, Gentleman, for example, noted in his will that he was a Methodist but that he wished to be buried in St. Paul's; and he was. Not all who were buried there were legally integrated into the community, for the register records the interment of a number of illegitimate children. Such children were usually identified by fathers' names, although when paternity was in doubt, mothers were cited. Thus, St. Paul's gave room to at least two natural children of the unfortunate, if appropriately named, Mary Yeldall. Several plots, in fact, include rather magnificent collections of natural and legal offspring, apparently unembarrassed by problems of parentage. The parish register differentiates between children who were baptized and those who were not, but all were apparently given Christian burial. The single hint of burial without appropriate rites centers on the father-in-law of one plot holder. No details are recorded, but the Sexton's Report noted disapprovingly, "buried without minister." Suicides required the rector's permission for burial, although it seems to have been granted automatically, as in the case of two elderly spinster sisters who ended their lives on the same day. The burial of convicted criminals was a more sensitive matter. The Vestry reproved the Reverend Dr. Wyatt in the 1820s for permitting burial of an executed murderer in St. Paul's. Dr. Wyatt, however, responded with a sharply worded comparison between convicts and duellers and apparently won the day. It is probable that John F. Ferguson and Israel Denny, who were hanged for piracy in the same decade, are buried in St. Paul's. Dr. Wyatt offered prayers at their execution, and their names are entered in the register of burials. Although no familial connection has been established, they probably lie in the James F. Ferguson lot (303) under an unusually large, completely uninscribed marble slab which is sunken, covered with sod, and no longer visible from the surface. St. Paul's, at any rate, offers a wide spectrum of the variations in human nature.¹⁵

Funerary art and sentiment in the cemetery stand in a transitional period between

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁶ Death is neither the grim reaper nor yet the romantic drifting into sleep; it is somewhere inbetween. Only one epitaph is of a really ancient variety; it is a minor variation on the "as you are now, so once was I" theme. Few inscriptions add more than vital statistics or relationships. "... amiable wife of Mr. John Skinner," "Sarah Stewart, who died at Furley Hall . . .," and "John Sherlock, a native of Lancashire, in England, but for many years a respectable merchant of this City" are typical. Some give more details and some note the regret and respect of survivors. The imprint of death on survivors is, certainly, stressed more often than is optimism about heavenly rewards for the dead. Even when predictions of those rewards came in succeeding and more articulate generations, they tended to be subdued and somber.

Gravestones are of two basic types. The first is the tablet, with rounded, flat or decorated top. Few have any surface ornamentation and virtually no symbolism is employed except for an occasional carved cross. The tablets serve as conservative and utilitarian recorders of life and death with few frills. An occasional obelisk and a broken column appear, but that is nearly the extent of funerary sculpture in St. Paul's. The imported celtic cross of red granite, with its Latin inscription dedicated to the Rector Milo Mahan seems strangely out of place in this conservative burial ground. The second basic marker is the marble slab, used either flush with the ground or supported on a brick or marble foundation. Again, most are without significant ornamentation. The William van Wyke lot (56) is almost completely covered by fourteen brick and marble slab tombs, heavy, solid—almost a plateau of marble. The neighboring Bowly lot (27) is less severe—a combination of tablets and raised slabs more typical of the cemetery as a whole.

Among the more interesting features of St. Paul's cemetery are its crypts and vaults. Some of the underground crypts nearly escape detection. John Dorsey's plot, for example, seems an almost empty lot broken by a single illegible ground slab. A slight rise in the lot, however, marks the ceiling of an underground burial chamber;

the slab, in fact, covers steps leading down below. Some crypts, the Merryman (65) and Donaldson (342) ones, for example, have stone entranceways nearly flush with the ground and heavy iron doors guarding the stairs.

The vaults are of a variety of designs, some in brick, a few in marble, the most of huge blocks of granite. The brick ones seem to reflect the Federal style brick homes in which their original owners lived. The vaults of Dr. Solomon Birkhead (119) and Henry Herring (180) are good examples of the early use of brick and are certainly the earliest vaults in the cemetery. All the others, of whatever material, have distinct neo-classical elements, ranging from the barely-stated in the James Carroll vault (95) to the florid, almost Italianate style of the Howard facade. All but two share a common feature, their structural form. An underground chamber was topped by a brick barrel vault springing six to eight feet from the ground line. Each end of the vault was closed by a facade, plain at the rear, decorated at the front. The barrel vault was covered with soil, grass was encouraged, and when viewed from the north or south, the basically flat cemetery seems to contain many small grassy hillocks.

The dating of the vaults is uncertain, but most of the granite ones are probably products of the late 1830s or early 1840s. Most, particularly those in the eastern part of the cemetery, were commissioned by the second generation of owners. Some hints can be found at least of a date after which several of these vaults were constructed. Judge Elias Glenn (378) purchased his lot in 1832 so his vault, identical to a number in the cemetery, must date thereafter. The vault owner usually removed gravestones already in the lot when a vault was constructed and brought earlier remains into the structure, making the vault a mute edifice, concealing its own history and that of the persons it shelters. Two families, however, the James Dalls (67) and the James Harwoods (340), chose to display earlier stones outside their vaults. Mrs. James Harwood's marble slab was utilized by her husband as an integral part of the surface decoration of the Kemp-Harwood vault. The vault, then, nearly identical to a dozen

or so in the cemetery, was built after Mrs. Harwood's death in 1833 and after her slab had been carved. At the back of the Dall vault are ranged a collection of stones, the latest from 1834, so the Dall vault, and three others of identical design probably postdate that year. The Dall vault, and its twin, the Abraham Worthington tomb (127), are of particular interest because of their close similarity to the official vault designed by Robert Cary Long, Jr. for the opening of Green Mount Cemetery in 1839. Long's vault in Green Mount is a tiny structure, barely five by six feet at the base, and serving only as the entranceway to steep stairs leading down to a deep crypt below. The facades of the St. Paul's vaults are considerably larger, but their design, their material, and even the number of blocks of granite used in each facade are the same. The blocks which support the pediment in Green Mount are slightly trapezoidal, flaring at the base and giving the structure an Eastern air; those at St. Paul's are rectangles. These differences are slight enough, however, to suggest that at least these two, and perhaps two other St. Paul's vaults, are the work of Long. These vaults may have been prototypes for those in Green Mount. On the other hand, they may have developed out of the Green Mount vaults and may very possibly be a reminder of St. Paul's determination not to be outdone by the new cemetery.¹⁷ Whatever the relationship between these vaults, the combination of vaults, tablets and slabs gives St. Paul's an eclectic air. It is no longer eighteenth century but neither does it reflect fully the main currents of the nineteenth.

St. Paul's Cemetery was the fashionable place to be buried in Baltimore at the very end of the eighteenth century, but fashion proved fickle as always. Christ Church, begun as a chapel of St. Paul's for the eastern sections of the city in 1795, got its own cemetery at the same time the mother church bought its new lot. Although the evidence is limited, it indicates that the chapel's cemetery at Broadway and Orleans Street claimed at least as many of the parish dead as did the mother church. Fashion, then, was a shared thing from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The most damaging blow to St. Paul's came

with Samuel D. Walker's appeals to Baltimore in the late 1830s for establishment of a rural cemetery, non-sectarian and democratic, just outside the city. The Reverend Dr. Wyatt, who gave the invocation at the dedication of the resulting Green Mount Cemetery in July 1839 might well have had forebodings by the time that ceremony was over. For although John Pendleton Kennedy, the orator for the occasion, gave St. Paul's better marks than other church burial grounds, he went on to damn the lot of them and to announce a new concept in cemeteries that was to claim Baltimore's loyalty for the rest of the century. Whether the rector understood or not, St. Paul's Burial Ground was to find its way increasingly difficult from that July afternoon in 1839 to the present. A whole new attitude toward death and burial was to leave the conservatism of St. Paul's outdated and isolated.¹⁸

The effect of Green Mount on St. Paul's was immediate. As early as 1840, at least ten plotheholders in St. Paul's had acquired plots in the new cemetery and the sons of scores of others had done the same. Robert A. Taylor is a good example of the transient plot owner. He had bought two plots on the fashionable western path in St. Paul's and probably buried his wife there near her cousins, the Schroeders. By 1840 he owned four plots in Green Mount on which he built an elaborate Gothic vault for the remains transferred from St. Paul's. Reverdy Johnson buried three infants in his plots in the older cemetery. It was only after his death and burial in Green Mount in 1876 that the infants were transferred to lie with their father in the now more fashionable ground. For a number of individuals who moved on to the new cemetery, no record exists that family members buried in St. Paul's were ever transferred.¹⁹

Old St. Paul's had served one long generation of Baltimoreans; most of the next generation flooded to Green Mount or to the other cemeteries it inspired. Robert Cary Long, Jr. is typical. His father, who designed the new St. Paul's Church on Charles Street and other important Baltimore buildings, was buried in the old cemetery. The younger Long, however, was instrumental in establishing Green Mount

and became its official architect, buying plots for himself there. Thomas Edmondson bought three plots in St. Paul's and used two of them, at least, for family burials. Thomas, Jr., however, had other ideas and was one of the first subscribers to the new cemetery.

The addition of a crypt or vault tended to extend the life of a St. Paul's plot, generally bringing many more generations back to the cemetery than did the ordinary family lot. There were burials in George Hoffman's lot and crypt (1) from 1808 to 1896, in James Carroll's vault (95) from 1816 to 1918, in John Eager Howard's (85) from 1800 to 1910, and in Thomas Hollingsworth's (84) for a 112 year period that ended in 1926. There were, however, defections from the cemetery even among the sons of vault owners. At least one son each of Carroll, Howard, and Hoffman were among the first subscribers to Green Mount. Philip Rogers Hoffman finally returned to St. Paul's, but Charles R. Carroll and Benjamin Chew Howard are buried in the new cemetery with their families gathered around them.

The cemetery's first forty years were busy ones, indeed, with probably 400 to 500 burials a decade. The parish register, for example, in what are probably rather accurate listings, catalogues 456 burials for the 1830s. Then, however, with the new attractiveness of Green Mount and other cemeteries, the numbers began to drop sharply. Although there are not reliable figures again until the late 1870s, the pattern of decline is clear. In the 1880s only 136 were buried in St. Paul's, fifty-four from 1900 to 1909, and by the 1920s only twenty-two. No accurate record of removals from the cemetery exists, but the sexton's register notes some of them from the 1870s on. In the 1920s the number taken out of the cemetery had virtually caught up with the new burials there. Almost balancing the twenty-two buried in that decade were at least seventeen removals to other cemeteries. In the ten years between 1817 and 1826, the first period for which age at burial is available, the mean age was 25.5 years, with forty percent of those individuals buried ranging from infancy through nine years of age. The ratio of males to

females, at least ten years old and buried in that period, was 11:9. St. Paul's at that time was a family cemetery with a clientele largely of childbearing age. A century later, from 1917 to 1926, the mean age had risen to 70.4 with seventy percent of those buried ranging from sixty to seventy-nine years. The male to female ratio of those ten or over was a drastically altered 1:6. Those buried in St. Paul's were primarily daughters of vault-owning families; the majority of them unmarried. It had become a cemetery of great aunts and an occasional grandmother. The younger generations had made the transition to new cemeteries. Old St. Paul's Cemetery had already been an anachronism for decades.²⁰

As fashion moved elsewhere, a second threat to St. Paul's—neglect—moved in. The cemetery no longer claimed the attention of communicants or even the Vestry. Its existence depended on the borrowed time of older families whose more conservative members, usually maiden daughters, came back to be buried in family vaults or of those who had not yet understood or welcomed the dictates of fashion and who chose an outdated style. As early as 1875 the cemetery was an embarrassment to its church and to Baltimore. The beginning of neglect cannot be dated precisely, but by 1875 it had advanced enough that the unhappy state of the cemetery was brought to public attention by the Baltimore *American*. That newspaper published the first of a series of articles which reappeared with increasing frequency for the next ninety years and which documented increasing neglect and dilapidation. As did virtually every article thereafter, the first began with a recitation of the names of the renowned individuals buried in St. Paul's, noting that these were men with "... names identified with the growth and prosperity of our city and the loftiest features of its history..." It then described the grounds:

Broken and disjointed slabs, crumbling tombs, unsightly sinkings of the ground, almost disclosing the honored remains, wild and tangled growths that impeded the paths to historic graves. All these are there to shock the feelings of refined sensibility and fill the beholder's heart with grief.

That those who were so honored in their day

Are thus neglected, now they've passed away.

Not only were the dead dishonored, but the cemetery had become an eyesore to neighbors whose properties overlooked it. The *American* called on the Vestry to find some way to improve the grounds, and made the first of an almost unlimited string of suggestions that were to come over the next century about solutions to the cemetery problem. Using Westminster Presbyterian Cemetery as a model, it proposed building a chapel on the site with a sexton permanently stationed there.²¹

No long-term action was taken and the cemetery apparently slipped from the public mind. There may have been some cleaning up of the site, for an occasional lot was sold during the next decade. In 1889, however, another threat to the cemetery, rumors of its impending dissolution, began to circulate. The earliest rumor reported that the city intended to buy the land for use as a public school ground, but the mayor assured the Vestry that the story was false. The next report suggested that the city wanted the cemetery for use as a commercial site; there was no evidence of any such interest, however, and the rumor died. A rumor of 1911 had some basis in truth, for an ordinance was introduced before the City Council that year to provide \$250,000 to buy the cemetery and convert it into a playground. The ordinance failed to pass, but rumor had become endemic and a factor in the deterioration of St. Paul's. Combined with neglect, and perhaps, too, the memory of the dissolution of Christ Church Cemetery in 1851, rumor helped speed up a process which up to this point had only been occasional—the transferral of whole families to newer cemeteries. Others, however, wanted their families to remain in St. Paul's. By 1894, each of four individuals had paid the Vestry \$100 to provide what amounted to perpetual care for their lots. The Vestry, taking its cue from this individual initiative, agreed that year to assume responsibility for perpetual care of any lot for which a similar sum was paid into the cemetery fund. At least a dozen families finally bought assurance that their lots would be protected and cared for forever.²²

The Vestry, however, did little to per-

suade Baltimoreans that St. Paul's Cemetery had a future at its German Street location. By 1904 it had begun to explore the costs of moving the burial ground to one of a number of larger local cemeteries—Woodlawn, Druid Ridge, or Lorraine. A Vestry subcommittee was charged with contacting known lot holders as to their view of transferral, making it understood that there would be no removal without assurances of perpetual care. As the plot of the cemetery had been destroyed in the great fire earlier that year, the Vestry was able to identify and invite to its meeting only thirty plot owners. Its letter of invitation noted that it felt "keenly its moral obligation in the premises . . ." especially "... the duty it owes toward those of the dead who have no descendants or other relatives living in Baltimore." Vestry minutes reflect a much calmer meeting than was reported in the press. At any rate, the Vestry discovered that lot owner sentiment was very much against removal and that its own contention that care of the cemetery was the obligation of lot owners was unacceptable, too.²³

A committee of descendants of lot-owners, McHenry Howard, William Bowley Wilson, and George Armistead, was selected to raise \$20,000, the interest from which, it was believed, would assure perpetual order and care for the cemetery as a whole. Feathers had been ruffled, however. Walter de Curzon Poultney stated lot owners' sentiment rather eloquently in a letter to a Baltimore newspaper: "I have observed that the respect shown the dead in such cases is very much determined by the value of the land they occupy." The immediate crisis passed, but his words would have an uncanny relevance seven decades later.²⁴

Although the cemetery committee worked hard, it found it impossible to achieve the goal. It had collected over \$5,000 by 1907 and \$10,000 by 1911, but as late as 1949 the fund was still \$3,000 short of the target. Meanwhile, little had changed. In a pair of articles in 1909–10, Helen W. Ridgely noted the same brambles and undergrowth cited in 1875, but she cited a distressing new note as well. The cemetery was pocked with holes where the dead had been exhumed and moved elsewhere. Newspapers picked up the theme, and al-

though offering nothing very different from what had been said before, recorded further decline.²⁵

Something new, in fact, did threaten the cemetery—vandalism, the factor that had led to the dissolution of Christ Church Cemetery in 1851. The once rural isolation of St. Paul's had disappeared quickly as the city expanded. The neighborhood grew, prospered, and declined. With decline came vandalism. A neglected, unpatrolled cemetery offered too many opportunities for mindless destruction. Newspaper articles from the 1940s through the 1960s catalogued the toll. Tombstones were knocked over and broken, slabs were cracked and dragged off their bases, and vaults were broken into and used as shelters by derelicts. The slab of Washington's aide-de-camp, Tench Tilghman, was found broken and vandalized, leading to a flurry of public indignation. The major outrage, however, occurred when the interior of the John Eager Howard vault was set afire by vandals. "Arranged on open shelves in the ground," the *Sun* reported, "the burning coffins were turned into a mass of broken wood, skulls, and bones by water from high-pressure fire hoses." Spectators reported seeing "ancient ceremonial swords and other relics lying in the muck inside the tomb."²⁶

By the late 1950s the final threat to St. Paul's had surfaced. It was the culmination of a half century of rumors that the city wanted the property, only this time there was no denial. The specific threat was urban progress, for St. Paul's stood on what city planners considered the most logical route for the projected East-West Expressway. Negotiations were carried on very quietly between a determined city, convinced it required the land, and a downtown church needing funds from whatever source after many of its members had moved to suburban parishes. The mayor's membership on the Vestry—the same mayor who was to welcome the group on July 4, 1980—helped oil the process. Negotiations swirled in every direction. A design for the expressway to pass over the cemetery was heralded and forgotten. Plans to seek Federal aid to rehabilitate the cemetery and give it the protection of listing on the National Register were never put into action. The city appeared to retreat from its pursuit of the

site at one point, for when the Howard tomb was vandalized in 1967, an official of the Department of Public Works was quoted as saying, "We're going to let sleeping people lie . . ." and referring to the vandalism, "We're not trying to burn the place down." An official report of the expressway planners at the same time, however, shows that the city's determination to carry the right of way for the new street across the western part of St. Paul's had not flagged. Finally on November 5, 1974, the rector of St. Paul's signed a document giving the city exclusive right to purchase land in the cemetery at a price of \$379,900 as a right-of-way for the thoroughfare. The Vestry agreed to "remove from the piece of land all interees, headstones, crypts, etc. and to backfill all open graves in accordance with health regulations . . ." ²⁷

Transferral of remains in marked graves from the western section into empty spaces in the rest of the cemetery began in 1975. Among those moved were two for whom perpetual care had been purchased nearly a century before, the late Rectors of St. Paul's, William E. Wyatt and Milo Mahan. More than seventy bodies were exhumed in 1978-79 which could not be explicitly identified. They were stored in brown plastic bags for months while a site large enough to accommodate their mass grave was arranged. Many of these individuals came from the northwest corner of the lot. Some of them were truly the peripatetic dead, transferred now for the third time since their first burial.

Truncated though it is, St. Paul's Cemetery has in some ways much more stability today than it has had for a century. Vandalism of the old type has virtually ceased. An occasional incident occurs, but it is usually property-related—an attempt to enter the small tool shed or the theft of honey from the caretaker's bee hive—not the malicious destruction of earlier times. Nor is there neglect. The tangled brambles and endless vines reported for almost a century are gone. The grounds are an oasis of pleasant neatness. In 1970, a student at the University of Maryland took the job as caretaker to help pay college expenses. College long behind him and with a full-time career elsewhere, he still serves as caretaker. The volunteer services of one individual were

added in the early 1970s, and the two have worked virtually every Saturday since, when the weather permitted, mowing, pruning and restoring.²⁸ Though untrained as preservationists, their work is far from amateur. The re-raising of a brick and slab tomb which had collapsed means scrounging for old brick somewhere in the city, searching old newspaper files for pictures of the tomb before collapse and then duplicating the style of brick work, and finally borrowing heavy equipment or recruiting neighborhood volunteers to re-settle the heavy slab atop. Archival study is necessary to make sure a wandering gravestone is returned to its proper plot. Neither worker has a relative in St. Paul's, nor is either a member of the parish. The two, however, have a fierce and intelligent dedication to the cemetery which has made it in recent years a showpiece of ongoing care and restoration which has attracted writers, genealogists and historians.

Still, the central issue at St. Paul's Cemetery and at many other cemeteries around the country has not been faced. That issue is whether a church, a city, and citizens have responsibility to the dead of generations long past, particularly when many of those dead were instrumental in the formation and development of their city. The fact that a piece of land, which was a burden to the church before, has now contributed more than a third of a million dollars to that church, may obscure the issue further. Volunteer care, no matter how excellent, cannot be extended with certainty into another generation. Nor can two humans with families and full-time jobs keep up with some of the problems time has brought. One portion of the east wall has collapsed, for example, tumbling huge granite blocks into the William Magruder lot (2), and the brick wall on Redwood Street needs extensive attention before it becomes a serious threat to passersby. Pleasure in the excellence of its volunteer staff and perhaps in that check from the city may lull the leadership of the church into complacency rather than the facing of issues. The Vestry and the last rector opposed listing the burial ground on the National Register of Historic Places as that "might lead to liens on the property," and at least two members of the Vestry have evinced interest recently and

publicly in selling the air rights for high rise development over the cemetery.²⁹ Still, Old St. Paul's has a new rector and an ever-changing Vestry. The sum realized from the sale of the western portion of the burial ground should have fattened the cemetery fund beyond any early twentieth century dream. The church has a showplace cemetery rich in solid and interesting local history in a newly renovated section of the city. Old St. Paul's Church has tended in the past only to react to changes in its cemetery—to react with too little, too late. It stands today, however, in a position to assume national leadership in the creative preservation of urban cemeteries, guarding for Baltimore a vital part of its cultural heritage.

REFERENCES

1. The major works on Old St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church and its parish are Ethan Allen, *Historical Sketches of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County*, (Baltimore, 1855) and Francis F. Beirne, *St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, A Chronicle of a Mother Church*, (Baltimore, 1967). Allen has an occasional entry on the cemetery, Beirne virtually none. Originals and facsimiles of the parish registers to 1922 are at Maryland Historical Society as are bits and pieces of accounts and Vestry minutes and a copy of the sexton's report of burials from 1877 to 1926; see MS. 1727; more recent Vestry minutes are at the church office. Other materials on the cemetery, including lists of plot owners in the early nineteenth century are in Duke University MS. Cab. 72, with additional material in the Maryland Diocesan Library at Maryland Historical Society. The original plat of the cemetery was destroyed in the Baltimore fire of 1904; a replacement, drawn from the Duke University lists and physical evidence in the cemetery was produced in 1911. A revised plat incorporating data not available in 1911 was drawn by volunteers in 1980 and is available at the cemetery. All plot numbers used here correspond to the numbering system on the 1980 plat. In the ceremony on July 4, 1981, Chase got a new wreath of fresh flowers, but the mayor was absent.
2. Allen, *Sketches*, pp. 163, 215.
3. Allen, *Sketches*, p. 136; and Baltimore City Land Records, Liber WG 61 folios 317-20.
4. Baltimore City Land Records Liber WG 74 folio 532; liber TK 299 folios 283-4; Liber WG 122 folios 99-100; and *Records of the City of Baltimore, 1810-1817*, (Baltimore, 1909), p. 189.
5. Baltimore City Land Records, Liber WG 65 folios 195 and 560; Liber WG 66 folio 472; Liber WG 70 folio 102; Liber WG 71 folio 27; Liber WG 72 folios 252 and 256; Liber WG 88 folio 85; Liber WG 198 folio 576; Liber TK 259 folio 86; and Liber TK 298 folio 456.
6. "Vestry Accounts and Receipts Book, 1798-1811," in St. Paul's Papers, MS. 1727, in Maryland Historical Society; and Helen W. Ridgely, "The Ancient Churchyards of Baltimore," *Grafton Magazine*, I (1909), p. 9. Mrs. Ridgely's long article in volumes I and II of this magazine is devoted almost entirely to listing gravestone inscriptions; it is very useful today as many of those stones she listed have perished or eroded since 1909.
7. "Vestry Accounts," in St. Paul's Papers, MS. 1727, Md. Hist. Soc.; and see "Plat of St. Paul's Grave Yard made April 1911 from Old Book," Graphics Division, Md. Hist. Soc.
8. See *Register of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore*, passim; and the Diehlmann file and other genealogical materials at Md. Hist. Soc.
9. Personal data have been drawn from tombstones, church registers, the genealogical and biographical files of Md. Hist. Soc. and from the microfilm copy of the Federal Tax Assessment of 1798 at the same institution. I have used tax data only from Baltimore City and Baltimore County. See, too, Richard M. Bernard, "A Portrait of Baltimore in 1800 . . .," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol 69 (Winter, 1974), pp. 341-60.
10. I have used a number of Baltimore City Directories to ascertain occupations.
11. On public service, here and below, I have consulted J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, 1874), passim; Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, 1824), passim; *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883-1937), vols. 11-13, 18, 21, 43, 45, 47-8, passim; the extensive biographical files of Md. Hist. Soc., and obituaries.
12. *Archives of Maryland*, passim.
13. Johnson's plot is listed and numbered on the list of plot-holders in Duke University MS. Cab. 72, but its location cannot be identified today.
14. See "Sexton's Report on Burials, 1877-1926," in MS. 1727, Md. Hist. Soc.
15. See pamphlet, "To the Pew Holders and Other Contributors to the Expenses of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County," Baltimore, 1804, in Maryland Diocesan Library, Md. Hist. Soc.; Beirne, *St. Paul's Parish*, p. 87; "Abstracts from Baltimore County Wills," 1807, typescript, (n.d., n.p.), Md. Hist. Soc.; and, on Ferguson and Denny, *Maryland Gazette*, April 14, 1820.
16. See Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution . . .," *American Quarterly*, XXVI (1974), pp. 37-59; Richard K. Francaviglio, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 14 (September, 1971), pp. 501-09; Edwin S. Dethlefsen and Kenneth Jansen, "Social Commentary from the Cemetery," *Natural History*, 86, (June, 1977), pp. 32-39; Philippe Aries, *The Hour of Our Death*, (New York, 1981); and Martha V. Pike and Janice Gray Armstrong, *A Time to Mourn*, (Stony Brook, 1980).
17. See Glenn Papers, MS. 1017, Md. Hist. Soc.; and R. Kent Lancaster "Green Mount: The Introduction of the Rural Cemetery into Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 74 (Spring, 1979), pp. 67-8.
18. See French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution," pp. 37-59; and Lancaster, "Green Mount," pp. 64-65.

19. "Records of Burials by Henry Jenkins Company," manuscript records in possession of Jenkins Funeral Home, York Road, Baltimore, and made available through the kindness of Mr. John Slade.
20. "Register of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore," vols. I-III; and "Sexton's Report of Burials," Ms. 1727, Md. Hist. Soc.
21. *Baltimore American*, April 23, 1875.
22. "Vestry Minutes, 1878-1931," and "Vestry Letter-book, 1903-04," in St. Paul's Papers, Ms. 1727, Md. Hist. Soc.; *Baltimore Sun*, November 24, 1911. In 1851, Christ Church asked its lot holders to remove their dead to other cemeteries because of the vandalism, promising that remains of those with no survivors would be moved at the expense of the church. The site is now a parking lot of the Johns Hopkins Hospital.
23. "Vestry Minutes," Ms. 1727, Md. Hist. Soc.; and *Baltimore Sun*, March 19, 1905.
24. "Vestry Minutes," Ms. 1727, Md. Hist. Soc.; *Baltimore Sun*, March 19, 1905; and pamphlet "St. Paul's Burial Ground Endowment Fund," (Baltimore, 1905), with a revision (Baltimore, 1907), Md. Hist. Soc.
25. Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1939), appendix; "Vestry Minutes," Ms. 1727, Md. Hist. Soc.; *Baltimore Sun*, January 6, 1949; and Ridgely, "Ancient Churchyards," II, p. 112.
26. See, for examples, *Baltimore Evening Sun*, November 3, 1945, November 17, 1953, November 19, 1953, November 30, 1953; *Baltimore Sun*, January 19, 1947, March 24, 1964, September 3, 1967; and *Baltimore News Post*, November 20, 1959. Tilghman's body and stone were removed to his birthplace, Oxford, by descendants in 1971 to the consternation of many Baltimoreans. One descendant noted that St. Paul's "has been vandalized over the years, and in general seems like a poor place for a distinguished person to stay buried." The press reported rumors, which have not died since 1971, that Tilghman's stone had been moved when Boy Scouts cleaned the cemetery decades earlier and that the family moved someone else to Oxford. A string of unsuccessful campaigns to build a suitable memorial over Tilghman's St. Paul's grave had stretched back a half century. See *Baltimore Sun*, November 30, 1971 and December 1, 1971; and Vestry Minutes, May 10, 1971.
27. *Baltimore News Post*, November 20, 1959; *Baltimore American*, January 31, 1960; *Baltimore Sun*, March 24, 1964 and September 3, 1967; Baltimore Planning Commission, *Study for East-West Expressway*, (Baltimore, 1960), p. 39; U.S. Department of Transportation and Maryland Department of Transportation, Section 4(f), *Statement on Historic Sites*, (Baltimore, 1975), *passim*; and Vestry Minutes, December 10, 1973, October 8, 1974, December 9, 1974, and September 15, 1975.
28. The caretaker and his colleague are Mr. Gunner Richardt and Mrs. Pat Diniar. They welcome visitors to the cemetery during their Saturday work sessions.
29. *Baltimore Sun*, February 6, 1971; *Baltimore News American*, August 12, 1980; *Reisterstown Star*, April 26, 1979.

Salvaging The Past: The Roots Of Modern Archaeology In Maryland, 1900-1940

FRANK W. PORTER III

IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND early twentieth centuries, much of the archaeological work done in Maryland was performed by trained anthropologists under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Smithsonian Institution. In 1914, the locus of activities of these professional anthropologists shifted to the American Southwest where the primary concern centered on establishing a chronology of culture development in the New World.¹ Many have believed that this change in geographic area and new direction of research created an archaeological vacuum in Maryland. But this was not the case. Between 1900 and 1940 archaeological work in Maryland became increasingly localized in nature; it focused overwhelmingly on the survey, exploration, and identification of specific prehistoric sites by a small number of laymen completely devoted to salvaging as much information as possible from sites threatened by vandalism or residential and industrial development. Significantly, this archaeological work was done prior to the formation of amateur archaeological societies in Maryland. The activities of E. Ralston Goldsborough and William B. Marye demonstrate clearly that the collection and analysis of a tremendous amount of data during this period led indirectly, if not directly, to the eventual establishment of amateur archaeological societies in Maryland and the systematic survey of the Potomac River.

A perusal of the Annual Reports prepared by the National Museum and the

Smithsonian Institution and many others of lesser significance by scientifically-minded men in often obscure publications issued by societies and institutions reflects the continued interest in the early 1900s in archaeology in Maryland. Significantly, these individuals brought their scientific abilities to bear upon the archaeological problems of their immediate locale. Individual state archaeological surveys, prompted by the rapid growth of organizational activities and stimulus given to research by Federal agencies, would not come until after 1920. Prior to 1930 Federal assistance to the States was limited to a "Fund for Co-operative Ethnological and Archeological Investigations," which was supervised by the Bureau of American Ethnology under the Smithsonian Institution. Only competent scientific organizations with limited funds could apply. During the 1930s Federal government work-stimulation programs—such as the Federal Emergency Relief Act, Public Works Administration, Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Civil Works Administration—sponsored many archaeological projects, providing legitimate employment for thousands of laborers in the field and laboratories.² Eastern archaeologists look back to this time as the heyday of the discipline. The subarea in which most of the excavation was being done, however, was the Southeast because of its milder winter weather and readily available relief labor.³ The absence of an organized archaeological society in Maryland before 1940 and the lack of dam construction on the Potomac River only further delayed the implementation of a statewide survey. In 1957, Howard MacCord, examining the pre-

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sent status of archaeology in Maryland and Virginia, declared: "The study of the archaeology of the Maryland-Virginia area has lagged considerably behind that in adjacent states. Research thus far has been limited to isolated sites only, and no attempt has been made to reconstruct the prehistory of the region . . . , most cultural maps of the U.S. show the region to be largely an unknown quantity."⁴

Such statements obscure the achievements of a dedicated group of laymen who devoted a considerable amount of time to the study of archaeology in Maryland. While their work does not always measure up to today's rigid standards, their published and unpublished material in many cases is the sole source of information we have about specific archaeological sites which have since been destroyed by wanton vandalism, misguided excavation by amateurs, and rapid residential and industrial development. As Glynn Daniel has so aptly stated in the "Preface" to his *Origins and Growth of Archaeology*:

... the present state of archaeology cannot be divorced from its past state. Archaeology studies the past in the present, but the archaeologist must never forget the present is clouded and conditioned by past archaeologies, and that present archaeological scholarship will itself be one of the many past archaeologies in a decade or so.⁵

Although anthropologists at the Bureau of American Ethnology had shifted their interests to other geographic areas, they continued to maintain effective ties with local archaeologists and antiquarians in Maryland and Delaware and helped them whenever possible with their work. Many of these local investigators had previously established a close relationship with Bureau of American Ethnology personnel. Joseph D. McGuire, a lawyer from Ellicott City, frequently visited the offices of the Bureau and was known for his heated debates with members of the staff. E. Ralston Goldsborough, a Civil Engineer from Frederick, had been involved in archaeological excavations and surveys under the supervision of Cyrus Thomas, Gerard Fowke, and William H. Holmes. Joseph Wigglesworth, a local politician in Delaware, had

assisted Warren K. Moorehead in excavating the Fort Ancient Mound group in Ohio. The cumulative effect of this exposure to Bureau of American Ethnology personnel was to instill a deeply rooted interest in and respect for the systematic investigation of the prehistory of Maryland.

Not every museum and institution, however, was willing to enlist the services or use the data of local antiquarians and archaeologists. Frederick Bennett Wright, who was deeply concerned about "The Relations of the Great Museums and Institutions to the Independent Local Investigator," sensed that the attitude in many of the large institutions was that the "observations of any one who is not devoting his entire time to scientific research are valueless." "We need more of them, and they need the encouragement of the large institutions," Wright emphatically declared, because "Often a local observer on the spot is worth more than a \$3,000 scientist afar off, and his observations are at least worth considering." From its inception the Bureau of American Ethnology recognized the potential value of local informants and frequently solicited their services.⁶ In part this can be explained by the fiscal austerity of the budget of the Bureau of American Ethnology. In 1911 Frederick W. Hodge lamented to Albert L. Richardson, President of the Maryland Original Research Society of Baltimore, that the Bureau of American Ethnology's "means are so limited that we are compelled to rely, to a considerable extent, on local assistance in our work."⁷ In that same year, Hodge distributed a circular throughout the United States requesting detailed archaeological and ethnological information. Hodge noted that in 1891 the Bureau of American Ethnology had issued a Bulletin, entitled "Catalogue of Prehistoric Works East of the Rocky Mountains." Since that time considerable new information had been accumulated and many new sites had been discovered and excavated, "all tending to shed more light on the former distribution of the Indian tribes of America."⁸ The Bureau was contemplating the preparation of a new work, to be known as the "Handbook of Aboriginal Remains in the United States." This volume would include refer-

ences to all village sites, burial places, and quarries—in other words, “to all indications of the former occupancy of the country by the native tribes.”⁹

The informants were requested to answer the following questions: (1.) “Do you know of any mounds, village sites, burial places, or other indications of the former occupancy by the Indians in your county or neighborhood? If so, please state exact location, size, and general character, and also the name and address of the owner of the land on which situated.” (2.) “Do you know of any collectors or of any persons who may be able to give additional information or to render assistance in this work?” The replies to this circular, like the one distributed in 1889 by James Mooney, provide us with some insights into the nature of archaeological activities in Maryland in the first decade of the twentieth century. References were made to a mound on Paynton Manor near Nanjemoy Creek; mounds of oyster shells on Howell Point Farm near Betterton; and village sites in the Tyaskin and Nanticoke neighborhood in Wicomico County. Edward S. Tubbs, from Denton, wrote a short detailed historical account of the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians. Colin D. Wilson described a soapstone quarry near Aberdeen in Harford County, “where many stones bear marks of tools of the Indians. Mr. Webster, aged 80, tells me that when he was a boy many bowls made of this stone were lying about and were being gathered up by visitors.” Wilson also warned Hodge that the petroglyphs in the Susquehanna River would soon be covered by water due to the construction of a hydro-electric installation at Conowingo. William H. Babcock, who had written the first detailed account of the Nanticoke community near Indian River Inlet in Sussex County, Delaware, reminisced with Hodge about this visit and then described a mound which he had been shown by the Nanticoke. Among the individuals named in the returned circulars as local authorities were E. Ralston Goldsborough, Joseph D. McGuire, and William B. Marye.¹⁰ Although the records are not explicit on this point, it is my contention that through this circular Hodge came into contact with Goldsborough and Marye and set in motion a line of investi-

gation which both men would pursue as an avocation for the remainder of their lives.

By profession E. Ralston Goldsborough was a civil engineer, but since boyhood he had been interested in archaeology. In a letter to William B. Marye, Goldsborough recounted his archaeological activities. “For over thirty-five years I have hunted over and excavated village sites, traced old trails, and collected thousands of Indian relics in this state, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and the Carolinas,” he stated, and “My early studies were guided by the late Cyrus Thomas and Dr. W. H. Holmes of the Bureau of Ethnology.”¹¹ Goldsborough’s interest in archaeology actually had an earlier inception than his association with Thomas and Fowke. His mother, Amy Ralston Auld of St. Louis, was given a clerkship in the office of Dr. Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. She would discuss with her son many of the facts she had transcribed for Henry. “Undoubtedly the impressions made then have never been erased,” observed Goldsborough, for “Later, during my high school days, I began collecting Indian relics from nearby sites. One of my cherished possessions of these days was a letter I received from Major J. W. Powell.”¹²

During most of the forty-five years he had devoted to local archaeology, Goldsborough attempted to interest both the National Museum and the Smithsonian Institution in performing an anthropological survey of the Potomac River and its major tributaries. As early as 1904 Goldsborough had requested financial assistance from William H. Holmes to support his archaeological work in Frederick County, but was told there would be no compensation for his efforts because Bureau of American Ethnology funds had already been allocated for other purposes.¹³ In 1938, Goldsborough similarly informed Neil M. Judd of the immediate need for systematic archaeological work along the Potomac, but added “From past experiences I know that it would be impossible for the National Museum to take over this work.”¹⁴ “Just why the National Museum has never undertaken a systematic survey of the Potomac-Chesapeake area I do not know,” Goldsborough lamented in a letter to M. Edna Graham, wife

of the late Judge William J. Graham, an authority on the Indians of Port Tobacco River. "Certainly it is a rich field. Many years ago Gerard Fowke made a survey of the Potomac Valley, but this was made in the 'horse and buggy days' and was far from complete."¹⁵

Although he was unable to get the National Museum or the Smithsonian Institution to commit their staff or funds to a complete survey of the Potomac River, Goldsborough had personally performed

extensive surveys and excavations in Frederick County since 1894. Over the next forty-six years, Goldsborough was almost continuously involved in an archaeological investigation of the Monocacy River (Figure 1). Adhering to the arguments of William H. Holmes, Goldsborough endeavored to "show that the tribe inhabiting this valley in prehistoric times and until the coming of the white man were the same as those inhabiting the Chesapeake tidewater and the Upper Potomac."¹⁶ Goldsborough lo-

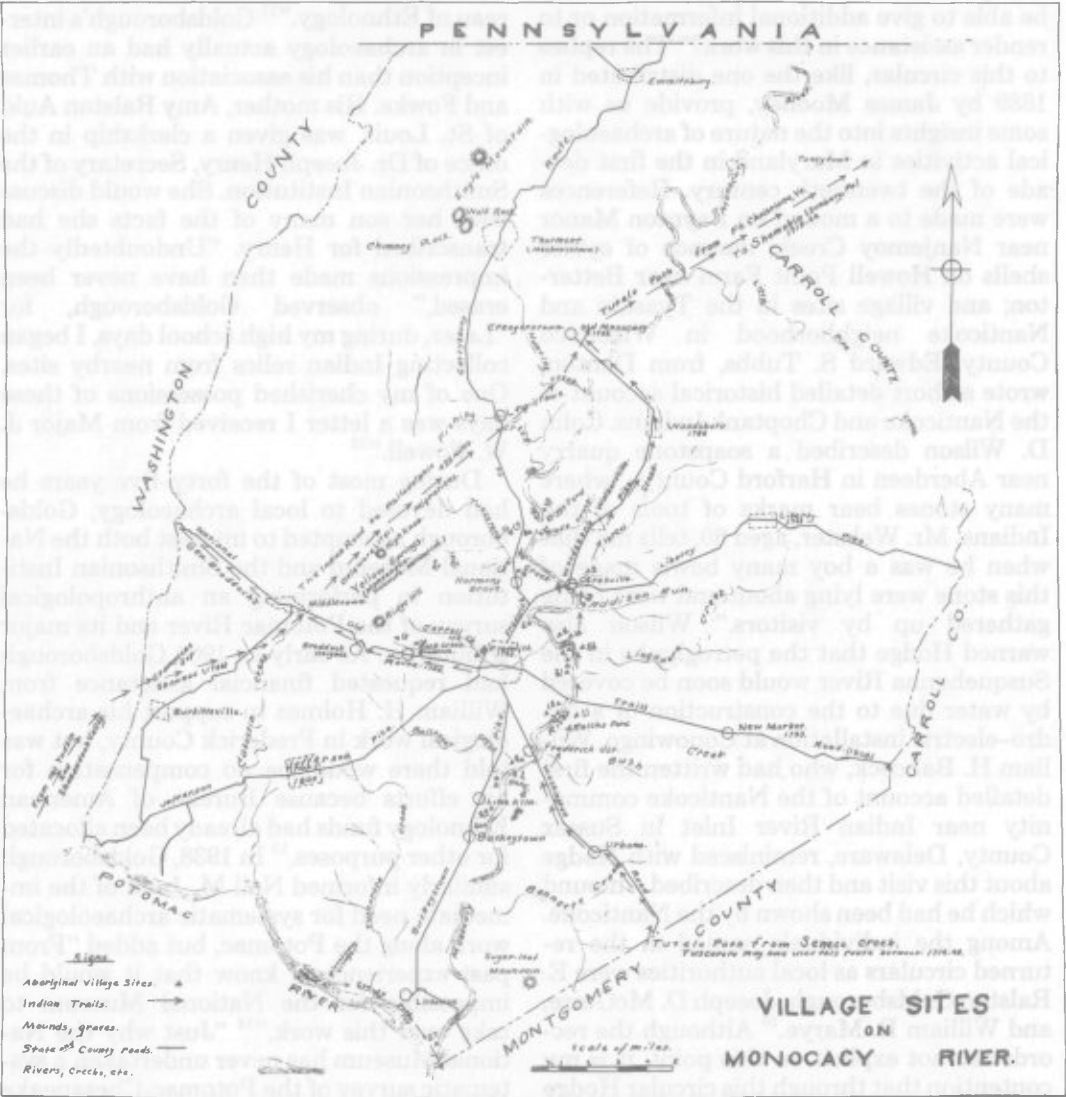


FIGURE 1.
E. Ralston Goldsborough's map of village sites on the Monocacy River. Courtesy of Maryland Geological Survey.

cated, described, and mapped numerous sites in this survey, and admitted "There are many localities where implements are reported to have been found [but] the Writer has not visited."¹⁷

In 1909 and 1910 Goldsborough decided to excavate site #10 of his survey, because it was the only site upon which bones had been found in direct association with pottery, which suggested the presence of a village burial ground. Goldsborough employed a rather unusual technique to determine when the site had been occupied.

I took several samples of refuse, weighed a definite amount, heated it to redness, weighed it again and determined the loss by ignition—this loss represented the amount of humus in the soil. Next the weight of humus per cubic foot and per acre was calculated. Dividing the latter by the weight of the litter deposited per acre gave 158 years. Dating back from the time the timber was removed—1884—gave 1726. Of course there has been some erosion since the timber was cut and there had also been an accumulation of refuse before the timber began to grow; these I have considered equal. While my method is only approximate, the figures are remarkably close to the dates of both the Tuskarora and Tuler migration.¹⁸

The Bureau of American Ethnology made no comment about this *new* technique of chronological dating.

In November of 1910 Goldsborough also opened a presumed Indian grave on Catoc-tin Mountain. A two-foot wide trench was excavated along the axis of the mound and was gradually carried downward until it reached a depth of 45 inches at the center of the mound. No bones or any evidence of material culture was observed. Upset by his failure to find any burials or artifacts, Goldsborough asked William H. Holmes if he had made the trench wide enough and whether or not it actually was a grave.¹⁹ Holmes delegated the response to Frederick Hodge who did not mention the excavation techniques or the mound, but did state "that so far as known there is no record of an Indian tribe or people having occupied the region indicated."²⁰ At the conclusion of his detailed report, Goldsborough also acknowledged "Just what race of people formerly inhabited the Monocacy Valley is

a problem which will probably never be answered."²¹ Nevertheless, he had astutely employed a combination of published historical sources, the analysis of certain Anglicized Indian place-names, and the study of archaeological data, and had even attempted to devise a dating technique to support his findings.

Between 1910 and 1935 Goldsborough devoted his spare time to fieldwork, from which he prepared a detailed map showing the location of Indian trails, villages, and colonial roads. In 1935, Goldsborough—with the Maryland School for the Deaf as sponsor—received a Works Progress Administration allotment to direct an archaeological survey of the Monocacy Valley.²² Unfortunately, the project did not get underway until the late fall of that year. With only a few weeks in which to work, the results were far from satisfactory and much of the data came from his earlier unpublished reports. Goldsborough expected to continue the survey in the spring of 1936, but the local Works Progress Administration Office assigned him to a different position. Undeterred, Goldsborough contacted F.W. Springer—the Works Progress Administration Area Representative—and gained tentative approval for a new survey of Montgomery County. The project was never reopened.

Goldsborough never waived in his efforts to secure a thorough archaeological survey of the Potomac valley, in spite of his confronting insurmountable obstacles. Although he realized that it would be extremely difficult—if not impossible—to get the National Museum or the Smithsonian Institution interested in any extensive work in Maryland, Goldsborough confided to several of his correspondents that he had "an idea 'a way back' in [his] head that may possibly bring results in a year or two, provided I stay around here that long."²³ Goldsborough elaborated his plan to Donald A. Cadzow of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. "There is a great deal of unworked territory, especially from the mouth of the Monocacy to Rock Creek," he told Cadzow. "I thought of taking up with Dr. Judd the idea of interesting the National Geographic Society."²⁴ A familiar lack of funds prevented the implementation of the survey.

Despite these disheartening setbacks, Goldsborough remained extremely active in the archaeology of the Potomac valley. He was soon to be joined in his crusade by a man whose background and archaeological experiences in many respects paralleled his own. Through his correspondence with the Smithsonian Institution Goldsborough learned about similar investigative work being carried on by William B. Marye. In 1936, H. W. Dorsey—Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution—urged Goldsborough to contact Marye, who was described as an outstanding authority on information relating to the location of village sites, workshops, and trails in Carroll and Montgomery Counties.²⁵

William B. Marye was born in Kingsville, Maryland in 1886. In 1934 Marye told Neil M. Judd that "I can truly say that since childhood I have been interested in the Indians of these parts; but from that time on for a good many years I did nothing but field collecting." In his early twenties he began to research the records of the Province of Maryland for information concerning the Indians. "While I lay claim to no particular aptitude for historical research," Marye stated in an autobiographical sketch which he prepared in 1940, "I believe that someone, in every part of this country where old records appertaining to Indians are available, should be engaged in this sort of work."²⁶ The early years of Marye's life are somewhat obscure, but it is known that he studied Geology at Johns Hopkins University and worked for the Maryland Geological Survey under Edward B. Mathews in 1907.²⁷ Marye's own recollections of this period add some important insights into his strong attraction to archaeology:

Training in archaeology would have stood me in good stead as an amateur; but I doubt if I would ever have made a first rate professional. I lack the scientific mind of the high order. I was fitted by temperament and situation to be a local antiquarian and field-collector, and I believe that, on the whole, things have turned out for the best. I have been hampered by lack of abundant means, as I often could have used money to advantage in my work. Even so, I am convinced that people like me can be useful in cultivating the less important fields of research, which do not require great ability, but

which, if not for them, would be neglected. The only profession I ever seriously wanted to take up was paleontology, and it is hard to explain why I did not make it my calling, as nothing stood in my way, and I still feel drawn towards it.²⁸

When Marye experienced a severe eye ailment in 1904, he remarked that "One of the chief reasons I want to keep them strong is so that I can hunt for arrowheads."²⁹ (Figure 2.)

The archaeological work of Marye was brought to the attention of the Bureau of American Ethnology as early as 1915. In that year David I. Bushnell received a memo stating that Marye "has found records of Indian sites etc, in the land records and court proceedings of Baltimore County; has compiled this data and asks if the Bureau is interested." Shortly thereafter, Marye visited Frederick W. Hodge at the Bureau of American Ethnology. During the course of their conversation, Marye emphasized the need for an archaeological survey of Maryland. "I pointed out to him that such a survey would do great service to science as well as honor to Maryland," Marye stated, and "It seems to me that it is not beyond hope that something may come of this suggestion."³⁰ Hodge invited Marye to prepare his archaeological data from Baltimore and Harford Counties for the *Handbook of Aboriginal Remains in the United States*, but much of this material was already slated to appear in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

In July of 1918 construction workers unearthed an Indian burial ground at the Aberdeen Proving Grounds. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, was informed that Marye was "perfectly capable of preserving in proper form, accounts of what has been and may be found there..."³¹ W. de C. Ravenel, Acting Secretary, requested Marye to secure all available information for the National Museum.³² Marye informed Ravenel that he had met with William H. Holmes, and noted that "the workmen who made the excavation had carried away practically all that was found." He also described a similar event where workmen for the Pennsylvania railroad, while excavating a gravel bank on the Gunpowder River, uncovered an Indian burial and removed all of the artifacts. "I myself am



FIGURE 2.

Richard Stearns, Howard MacCord, an unidentified individual, and William B. Marye excavating a village site near the head of the Anacostia River. William B. Marye Collection, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

deeply interested in the preservation of Indian relics," voiced Marye, and "I give all that I find to museums, as I disapprove of private collections."³³

Between 1916 and 1919, Marye became involved in the Susquehanna River Expedition which was organized and directed by Warren K. Moorehead, Curator of Archaeology at the Philips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. The Susquehanna River Expedition consisted of nine men, and began work at the head of the river, Otsego Lake, in New York. A preliminary survey was made of the entire river, from its source to the Chesapeake Bay. Local students and collectors cooperated with the expedition

at various points. In April 1916 Moorehead contacted Marye, soliciting information about Indian sites on Chesapeake Bay and inviting him to join the expedition for a few days that summer.³⁴ Although I have been unable to locate any material relating to their initial meeting in July of 1916, it is evident that Moorehead gave Marye the responsibility of mapping the location of shell heaps along the northern Chesapeake Bay and its numerous tributaries and to survey the petroglyphs in the vicinity of Indian Rock.

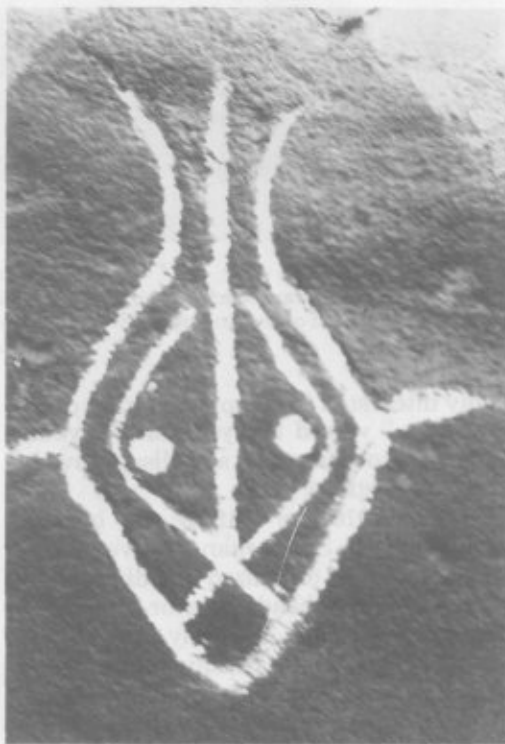
This was a timely decision because construction of the Conowingo Dam was scheduled to begin at any time. The petroglyphs

from Conowingo Bridge to Bald Friar would be covered by several feet of water. Unless scientific institutions and local historical societies could provide the manpower necessary to copy the petroglyphs and devise some means of removing them to places of safety, the petroglyphs would be permanently lost to science.

Moorehead was most fortunate to engage Marye's assistance with the Susquehanna River Expedition. Marye had already mapped the location of shell heaps along the bay shore and the rivers of Baltimore and Harford Counties.³⁵ Marye engaged Martin G. Kurtz, a local collector, to assist him in the investigation. They decided to devote most of the available time in searching for petroglyphs on the various islands in the vicinity of Indian Rock in hope of discovering some which perhaps had escaped the notice of archaeologists and other local observers. Particular attention was paid to two types of petroglyphs: (1.) circles and concentric circles, and (2.) a "serpent's

head" (Figures 3 and 4). Marye and Kurtz hired a guide as well as a boat in order to find the channels leading to the petroglyphs. Because the Susquehanna River was unusually low, Marye believed he had "found pictographs never before noted by anyone interested in Indian archaeology and perhaps not before observed in historic times."³⁶ Marye decided to survey the small islands of rocks lying to the north and west of Indian Rock, using Indian Rock and the Harford County shore as known points or points of departure. These little islands possessed some of the most valuable petroglyphs. "These islands are not named, and are known by no names," Marye observed, "and unless a map can be produced, considerable descriptions would be required..."³⁷ Marye concluded that "whereas Indian Rock is well known, the marks on obscure neighboring islands are of sufficient importance to justify a special survey."³⁸

Moorehead agreed with Marye's argu-



FIGURES 3 AND 4.
Two examples of "serpent's heads." Courtesy
Maryland Geological Survey.

ment and provided an additional \$25.00 to complete the work. With these funds Marye hired a local surveyor to make a plot of the petroglyphs and islands. In addition, Kurtz took a number of pictures using a small Kodak camera, but the results were far from satisfactory. On several occasions Marye, in order to get a good quality photograph, took a number of pictures of the same object in a number of different ways. "Good photographs or sketches by some artist ought certainly to accompany our work," admitted Marye, but "There is one great difficulty: some of the islands and some of the most important pictographs must be reached by wading. We waded today and had great difficulty in keeping our footing. We were often waist deep, so that it would be an easy matter to ruin a good camera. But I would be the last one to contend that it would not be worthwhile to sacrifice a couple of cameras to secure real results."³⁹

The purpose of the rock carvings and any meaning they may have held is as hopelessly lost as is the people which so laboriously produced them. Nevertheless, Marye devoted considerable thought to the possible meaning of the Bald Friar petroglyphs. He concluded that the islands in the Susquehanna River, between Bald Friar and Job's Hole, were once the site of an Indian fishery; and supported his opinion with the fact that one of the most common types of petroglyphs represented, in a highly formalized way, a fish. Furthermore, Marye emphasized, "most, if not all, of the marked rocks stand by deep channels, by falls or by rapids."⁴⁰ At a later date, Donald A. Cadzow, Archaeologist of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, would agree with the hypothesis of Marye. "In regard to the old 'fish dams' erected by the Indians—there may have been several of them along the lower Susquehanna," Cadzow noted to Marye, "they probably mark large Indian sites, as it would take a number of men to erect a suitable weir."⁴¹

By the middle of September of 1916, Marye had completed his survey of the petroglyphs and shortly thereafter submitted a detailed report of his work to Moorehead. In June, 1919 Moorehead sent to Marye a report of the "Susquehanna Ar-

chaeological Expedition" which had been prepared by George P. Donehoo. Apparently, Marye wanted to continue his earlier work with the petroglyphs, and informed Moorehead that if "the money is not available for an examination of the rocks this summer I will try to do a little work at my own expense between Conowingo and Havre de Grace."⁴² Funds were very scarce. Moorehead informed the very eager Marye that he had not abandoned the idea of the Susquehanna work, and that if funds became available, Marye was the person he would entrust to carry it out.⁴³ Marye would not become involved with the petroglyphs again until 1936, when Moorehead decided to publish the work done in 1916.⁴⁴

During the 1920s the Maryland Academy of Sciences and in particular its President, Dr. Arthur B. Bibbins, would assume a significant role in preserving and recording those petroglyphs threatened by rising water upon completion of the Conowingo Dam. The Maryland Academy of Sciences was one of the early museum efforts in Maryland to create a public display of Indian artifacts. An attempt was made to bring together examples of the implements, utensils, and weapons of every tribe of Indians known to have inhabited the State. This endeavor was not very successful, partly because of the rarity of such objects, and mainly from the difficulty of ascertaining to which tribal groups the artifacts should be referred. A large number of projectile points, scrapers, and other lithic material either were given to the museum or collected by members for its use; and examples of each class of artifacts, besides steatite mortars and modern Indian textile fabrics, were made accessible to the general public.

The imminent destruction of the petroglyphs in the lower Susquehanna River aroused the interest of the Maryland Academy of Sciences. Dr. Bibbins, who had visited and photographed the "Picture Rocks" as early as 1906, sought "the preservation of everything possible from the petroglyphs."⁴⁵ In February of 1926, Bibbins contacted Luther M. Mills, attorney for the Susquehanna Power Company. "I am writing to inquire if your clients are still disposed to carry out what I understood was

their original plan of having the carvings carefully photographed, plaster casts made of at least the more important ones and to remove for exhibition such loose fragments of the inscribed rocks as may be practicable," Bibbins inquired. "My original suggestion was that the work ought to be done under the immediate supervision of the Smithsonian Institution, U.S. National Museum, or Bureau of American Ethnology."⁴⁶

The position and attitude of the Bureau of American Ethnology toward the petroglyphs had been expressed previously by J. Walter Fewkes:

It is very desirable to preserve these pictographs, and it would seem to me that local sentiment of the people in the neighborhood of the picture writings should be created, and the interest of the state in which they were found should also be created for that purpose. I understand that these survivals of our Indian life will soon be flooded, by the building of a dam, the back water of which may submerge them. I should like to join any action to preserve these antiquities, but it is not quite clear to me what can be accomplished by the Smithsonian under these circumstances.⁴⁷

When contacted by Bibbins, Fewkes responded that "the Bureau does not intend at the present time to make further studies of these petroglyphs, and there is no one here who has made a special study of rock inscriptions."⁴⁸ One man who had done considerable work with the petroglyphs and "who seemed to have some proper conception of the important significance of the Conowingo petroglyphs," John Baer from Pennsylvania, unexpectedly died during a trip to Panama.⁴⁹

Bibbins directed his efforts to State and Federal authorities. In letters to Governor Albert C. Ritchie, the Public Service Commission, and the Federal Power Commission, Bibbins urged that they insist upon an appropriation of \$5,000 to save the petroglyphs as one of the conditions of granting the charter to the Susquehanna Power Company. The Secretary of the Public Service Commission assured him that the Susquehanna Power Company had agreed to do this, however, an attorney for the Company told Bibbins that they did not consent to such an appropriation. The matter was

soon resolved. The Federal Power Commission inserted in its authorization of the Conowingo Dam project, "provision for aid by the power company for the Bureau of Ethnology to an extent not to exceed \$5000,—which is as it should be."⁵⁰ The Susquehanna Power Company acknowledged the request of the Federal Power Commission to cooperate with the Bureau of American Ethnology in "the preservation or reproduction of certain prehistoric rock carvings. . ." and asked Fewkes for specific directions.⁵¹ Bibbins went one step further and asked the Bureau of American Ethnology if they were "in a position to take advantage of the aid required of the Susquehanna Power Company?" "I am aware that your Bureau has done considerable work there," Bibbins stated, "and Marylanders, being deeply interested and concerned, are hoping that under your direction everything possible will be done to save these unique descriptions before it is too late."⁵² Fewkes, discussing the situation with H.W. Dorsey, raised a critical issue. "I think you will readily recognize that the proposition of preserving the Conowingo pictographs involves an amount of work of a non-scientific character and demands a practical engineer of a type such as we do not have available in the Institution," Fewkes pointed out. "In other words the project is not exactly in the line pursued by any specialists at the Bureau."⁵³

It was not that the Bureau of American Ethnology was not interested in the petroglyphs. John L. Baer had been commissioned by the Bureau to make a preliminary survey of the petroglyphs, but his untimely death occurred before he presented his recommendations to the Bureau. Fewkes actively sought an engineer who would be willing to develop a plan for removing the petroglyphs, but no one "showed much enthusiasm for the work."⁵⁴ Although his inquiries were made prior to the \$5,000 appropriation, Fewkes confessed he could not recommend anyone even if the money were forthcoming. Nevertheless, he agreed to visit the site with a "practical man," to determine how much would be of scientific value, and to estimate how much it would cost. "I hate to see the money lost to us on account of negligence," Fewkes concluded, "and yet I do not feel that we should un-

dertake the spending of it unless we are sure that it would be for the best interest of the Bureau."⁵⁵

Predictably, Fewkes' response to Bibbins was very disappointing. The Bureau was not in a position to continue John Baer's work on the Susquehanna petroglyphs. Fewkes advised Bibbins to find a competent local engineer to undertake the work. "So far as advice on the scientific side goes I will be glad to help out all I can," Fewkes proffered, "but the problem is practically an engineering rather than a scientific one."⁵⁶ Frustrated and despondent, Bibbins informed Fewkes that "I regret exceedingly that your Bureau finds it impossible to handle the Conowingo matter, as you are about the only agency capable of managing it properly."⁵⁷ It did not take Bibbins very long to decide what course of action to take. On the same day, Bibbins requested from the Bureau of American Ethnology a list of every publication pertinent to the Susquehanna River petroglyphs and a complete set of photographs of the petroglyphs la-

belled as to exact locality and noted whether plaster impressions were made or specimens secured. Finally, he enclosed a map, requesting Fewkes to indicate the sites where petroglyphs had been observed, satisfactory photographs had been obtained, plaster impressions had been made, and points from which rocks bearing petroglyphs had been secured.⁵⁸ (Figure 5.)

At this particular juncture Dr. Francis C. Nicholas, Dean of the Academic Senate of the Maryland Academy of Sciences, suddenly came upon the scene and began on his own an active campaign to salvage the petroglyphs. Nicholas was a most unusual man. His association with the Maryland Academy of Sciences began quite by accident on February 4, 1919. While on a trip from Mexico to New York, he visited the old Academy building on Franklin Street west of Cathedral Street. At the time, the Maryland Academy of Sciences had only twenty members and no money to heat the building. Nicholas purchased coal for the Academy with his own funds. Learning that



FIGURE 5.
Susquehanna River petroglyphs *in situ*. Courtesy
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

bad investments had wiped out most of the Academy's small endowment, he then promoted the institution with a view toward its complete rehabilitation.⁵⁹ When members indicated that they could not afford a night watchman, Nicholas literally moved into the Academy's building as a sort of *ex-officio* night watchman. Because of his energy and enthusiasm he quickly gained positions of influence with the Academy. He was directly responsible for the development of many of the Academy's museum collections. The Maryland Academy of Sciences remained his home until 1930, when he was forced to resign under rather unusual circumstances.

When Bibbins failed to obtain the necessary support of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Nicholas initiated his own plan to salvage the petroglyphs and make them a monument to the Indians of Maryland. Time was becoming a critical factor. Besides the impending inundation of the petroglyphs, Nicholas fumed that "by the time the dam is completed the picture rocks will have been removed or destroyed by private collectors, curio hunters and vandals."⁶⁰ Many of the better specimens had already been taken, and in specific instances whole sections were destroyed in order to obtain one petroglyph. Nicholas' actions in assuming sole responsibility for salvaging the petroglyphs for some unknown reason infuriated Bibbins. In a letter to the Honorable Charles D. Walcott, Bibbins noted "that possibly the work of recovery is underway, or more likely that this is one more of Nicholas' bluffs to discourage further effort by other than the Maryland Academy. They have no funds and will do little but talk—or rather bark,—dog in the manger fashion."⁶¹ Such criticism towards Nicholas proved to be unfounded.

Knowing that vandals had already mutilated many of the petroglyphs, Nicholas argued it would be futile to remove entire rocks. Instead, the Maryland Academy of Sciences should secure as many specimens as its resources would permit. Herbert A. Wagner, James Beveridge, and William Champlin Robinson—all members of the Academy—donated small amounts of money and the use of their automobiles to aid in obtaining the petroglyphs. In April

1927, Nicholas sought financial assistance from the private sector. It was estimated that \$1500 would be required to complete the work. The city of Baltimore appropriated \$500. The balance was sought through subscriptions. A group of citizens, headed by B. Howell Griswold of the banking firm of Alex. Brown & Sons, raised enough money to remove the larger and more important of the petroglyphs and bring them to the Academy.⁶²

The late 1930s witnessed the decline of archaeological activity on the part of Goldsborough and Marye. Goldsborough, suffering from poor health over an extended period of time, became the victim of paralysis. He was forced to take up residence in a county home. His extensive collection of Indian artifacts was distributed to several interested organizations. This included an assortment to the Maryland School for the Deaf in Frederick, which he arranged, catalogued and mapped as to locations where found. Between 1920 and 1940 Marye spent most of his time in a thorough search of the land records of Maryland and Delaware. A review of his published and unpublished material reveals the extensiveness of his research interests. He documented the location of Indian trails, bridges, and village sites; and wrote one of the most thorough accounts of the Piscataway Indians. His study of the Nanticoke, Assateague, and Wicomico has formed the basis for future research about these tribes.⁶³ For all intent and purpose, archaeology became a pastime for Marye, usually fleeting weekend excursions to surface hunt the Bryn Mawr site. Goldsborough and Marye, each in his own way, stressed the need for an archaeological survey of Maryland, demonstrated the significance of many of the archaeological sites in Maryland, and preserved a tremendous amount of information about sites that are no longer in existence. It remained for the next generation of amateur and professional archaeologists in Maryland to address many of the questions and issues discerned by Goldsborough and Marye.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Baltimore: A Living Renaissance. Edited by Lenora Heilig Nast, Laurence N. Krause, and R. C. Monk. (Baltimore: Historic Baltimore Society, Inc., 1982. Pp. xiii, 322. Indexed. Illustrated. \$29.95.)

This is the latest of a recent surge of books on Baltimore. Because Baltimore was so understudied until the last decade, the book helps meet a continuing need for a more detailed account of the city's past and present. This volume concentrates on the period from 1950 to 1980. In so doing, it sheds considerable light on aspects of the recent historical development.

Baltimore's Renaissance, its people, parts, and effects are described in the numerous articles collected by editors Nast, Krause and Monk. Some scholarly, some journalistic, they reflect the variety of authors in their approach and style. The biographies of more than seventy contributors themselves provide a resource for readers interested in pursuing Baltimore's history. From R. C. Monk's preface, which describes the history of the book itself, to Joseph Arnold's concluding comments on how to write further about the history of Baltimore, many topics are treated and a wide range of methods used.

Jacques Kelly introduces the first section, "Baltimore Builds," with a clear and concise account of neighborhood revitalization. Numerous articles then expand on the details of the building process through fine descriptions of the city's two most visible rebuilt areas: "Charles Center" written by Morgan Pritchett and "Inner Harbor" by Jake Slagle, Jr. Section II, "Social Perspective," is launched by a well written and very useful article, "Baltimore's Ethnic Revival," by Rafael Cortada. The author surveys the current status of the city's various ethnic groups, including the newest immigrants, and compares relative cooperation here quite favorably with some lesser efforts elsewhere. Following this, Bettye Gardner and Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, both on the faculty at Coppin State College, provide a comprehensive and interesting survey of the people and activities of Baltimore's black community from 1950 to 1980. Lenora Nast recounts many interesting details on cooperation in the interfaith movement. Articles on women, senior citizens, public and private education, newspapers, and broadcasting follow.

The section on "The Arts" includes commentary by people whose names are known to many Baltimoreans: Lou Cedrone on the Mechanic

Theater, Elliott Galkin on recent classical music groups, and Clarinda Harriss Lott on poetry and literature, to name a few. In this quick tour of the city's cultural life, readers will find references to much that is familiar and many lively stories that are less well known.

The concluding "What Makes Baltimore Baltimore" gives a panoramic view of many local favorites. Interesting biographies of recent popular mayors, the D'Alesandros (two), McKeldin, and Schaefer, and an analysis of "The Politics of Renaissance Baltimore" which ties it all together begin the final part of the book. The section moves on through W. Theodore Durr's impressions of the City Council, Gary L. Browne's descriptions of the city's financial institutions and small businesses, and articles on the Greater Baltimore Committee by Victoria Obrecht and the Charles Center-Inner Harbor management by Barbara Bonnell. Baltimore at play comes near the end with enthusiastic descriptions of the Colts by John Steadman, the Orioles by James Bready, black baseball by Gilbert Sandler, and the Preakness by Lisa Kershner and Jacques Kelly.

In summary, *Baltimore: A Living Renaissance* provides some sound research, some interesting analysis and commentary, some reminiscences by participants. The book is not a standard historical survey or a deep interpretive essay but rather a collection of articles on a wide variety of topics, by almost as wide a variety of local authors. It can be used for serious purposes by scholars and for enjoyment by anyone who likes to read about Baltimore.

SUZANNE ELLERY GREENE
Morgan State University

Southern Architecture: 350 Years of Distinctive American Buildings. By Kenneth Severens. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1981. Illustrations, index. Pp. 208. \$19.95.)

Great Baltimore Houses: An Architectural and Social History. By Joanne Giza and Catharine F. Black. (Baltimore: Maclay & Associates, Inc., 1982. Introduction, illustrations. Pp. 88. \$9.95.)

The historic preservation movement in the United States has done more than save old buildings. It has led to an increased study of American architecture in general and in regional and local architecture in particular, as these books indicate. With the help of such books we

learn about architecture outside New England, Virginia, Chicago, and San Francisco. And that is good. About twenty years ago an alien reading the scholarly work on American architecture might suppose that Americans outside those privileged places lived in wigwams. No wonder the French suppose that Indians still take scalps beyond the Hudson.

An analysis of southern architecture is long overdue. In 1941 Lewis Mumford noted that in a region stretching from Delaware and Maryland to Texas and from the Ohio River to the Gulf of Mexico only the plantation houses had been studied and recorded. Forty years later, things are not a whole lot better.

Kenneth Severens, Associate Professor at the College of Charleston (South Carolina), has to some extent remedied that deficiency in his *Southern Architecture* by dealing with other types of buildings like churches, schools, and public buildings; he has also made a beginning in the study of modern southern architecture. But his book is not really a developmental analysis of southern architecture. It is a series of loosely-linked essays on such topics as city planning, gentlemen architects, churches, plantation houses and colleges.

In his first chapter Severens makes a case for the distinctiveness of the South as a region, based on the plantation system. While he never defines "the South" in geographic terms, and he shies away from defining it ideologically on the basis of slavery, he does say that because the North reacted so violently to the slavery issue, the South *became* a distinct section in its own defense.

The "plantation houses as ancestral seats are the preeminent contributions of the South to American architecture," he asserts (p. 3), and their dominant characteristic is a "sense of place," a shadowy concept that he never defines adequately. Southern architecture, like Southern life, was "conservative" in a wildly changing world, which led Southerners to prefer classical styles, which, however, they interpreted in a romantic fashion. This combination of classicism and romanticism combined, he says, "to impede the development of a truly indigenous architecture." Thus he undercuts any argument for a distinctiveness in Southern architecture and ignores the fact that the whole western world was romantically attached to classical styles for much of the period plantation houses were being built.

The difference between a Georgian or Greek Revival house in the south and in the North, between a Greek or Gothic Revival church or a neo-classical public building North and South, is evidently this shadowy rootedness, this "sense of place." But is this "sense of place" unique to

the American South? Is it not a characteristic of a tradition-minded landed gentry in a pre-industrial society? Can it not be found in the great homes of England, the *chateaux* of France, the *schlosses* of Germany? Is the "sense of place" at Oak Alley any greater than in the little New England villages like Litchfield, Connecticut, that time also forgot? The difference in classical buildings North and South would appear to be in size and splendor, which probably means that plantation agriculture, in the New South at any rate, was momentarily more profitable than elsewhere, or that planters spent more of their substance on show than frugal New Englanders did. Moreover, unless one still believes the Cavalier Myth, many builders of plantation houses were first generation *arrivistes* who were not "conservative" until they had made their pile, and who cloaked their lack of lineage in classical forms for their own social and psychological protection.

This is not to deny the South its distinctiveness. The South was and is a self-conscious section, but the architectural styles discussed by Severens can be found in the North as well, a fact that should surprise nobody. The neo-classical styles were national—international—in distribution. How did the Southern adaptations of these styles make them different? This question is not really answered except in the case of Charleston's "single houses."

If Severens' thesis is weak, his book nevertheless had some strong points. The illustrations are excellent. The chapter on town planning is good. The essay comparing Charleston and New Orleans is strong, as are the essays on Frank Lloyd Wright's work in the South and modern architecture in the South (for which the author claims no uniqueness). Weaker are the areas which have already been plowed over fairly often: the plantation house and the church. The author chooses one building to represent each style. The choices are good—who would argue with Stratford Hall, Westover, or Drayton Hall? Or with St. Luke's Church, or St. Michael's, or the Baltimore Cathedral?

There are three selections relating to Maryland: a short essay on town planning in Annapolis, an even shorter description of William Buckland's superb Hammond-Harwood House (1773-4) in Annapolis, and a brief analysis of Benjamin Latrobe's Baltimore Cathedral (1804-1821). Severens includes the latter out of a feeling of duty to what no less a critic than Nikolaus Pevsner has called the finest building in America. The cathedral, Severens concludes, is not regional but national, built for a sect not native to the South, by an English trained architect, and based on no indigenous traditions. Pity the poor Catholic Calverts founding their colony as

a haven for Catholics. Or observe that the baroque town planning tradition was a European one, or that Buckland was also English trained and working in classical styles universal to western civilization. The sturdy European background of American architecture is everywhere slighted in favor of Southern "distinctiveness." His choice of buildings to discuss is unassailable, but the treatment lacks depth. And where were the "middling sort" living and worshipping? Does one dare ask after the slave quarters? What happened to the Creole Cottage (a true regional adaptation)? To the county courthouses?

The section on the post-Civil War period is the weakest in the book. We could benefit from a treatment of the development of Atlanta and Birmingham or post-1900 Mobile. I know the buildings are there. From my youth I remember a grim granite chateau in Atlanta—the kind Robber Barons loved to build; it was just down Peachtree Street from my home and it housed the YWCA. I have seen the bloated Classical Revival mansions of the cotton brokers on Government Street in Mobile. Did the steel magnates in Birmingham build no palaces? Or are these buildings too "Yankee" to belong in a book on Southern architecture?

Great Baltimore Houses is a different kind of a book, one that will please local history fans. It presents capsule biographies of fifteen Baltimore Mansions ranging from Mount Clare (1756-66), the home of Charles Carroll, Barrister, to the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion (1884; 1892) in Mount Vernon Place. In each short essay one learns about a house and the people who owned it; there is often more social than architectural history. Historic photographs and prints illustrate the pages. The authors are, respectively, a Baltimore free-lance writer (Joanne Giza) and a lecturer at Goucher College who is active in historic preservation (Catharine Foster Black). Between them they have gathered a great deal of information about these houses and their owners.

The writing, however, is often pedestrian and resembles nothing so much as an unedited National Register form. Many of the photographs are interesting, but the general reproduction is muddy. Gilded Age interiors, particularly, are not notably suited to reproduction in half-tone. We could benefit from the inclusion of a sharp, recent photograph with each essay.

Both of these books have tripped into a scholarly prejudice of mine. Neither presents a floorplan for the building under discussion. One does not have to be an Ecole des Beaux Arts fanatic to understand that architectural beauty is more than skin deep. A building has a facade but *is* a volume, and you cannot understand that volume without a plan.

Severens' essays can be recommended to a beginner in architectural history. Students wishing more depth can then turn to William Pierson, Jr.'s two volumes or to Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper's fine new survey of American architecture.

The Giza and Black volume was not designed for a scholarly audience but for amateurs of Baltimore history. To this purpose it is reasonably well suited and will doubtless find its way onto many local bookshelves.

MARILYNN LAREW

University of Maryland Baltimore County

Maryland Indians Yesterday and Today. By Frank W. Porter III. (Baltimore, Md.: The Maryland Historical Society, 1983. Pp. ii, 26, \$4.95, paper.)

This interdisciplinary survey of Indian life in Maryland provides an exhaustive introduction to the subject. The anthropology, economy, geography, government, history, religion, and contemporary status of Maryland's Indians are discussed. Maps, pictures of artifacts and people, lists of Indian populations by county, of the English meaning of Indian names, and of further readings round out this superb booklet. Its large size (8½" × 11") and print make it perfect for use in our public school system.

After a brief introduction, the author divides his discussion into 26 different segments. The first 14 detail Indian life before the Europeans arrived. Where and how these native Americans lived receives detailed attention here. The next 12 sections discuss the impact of the Europeans upon Indian life, and the attempts by the Indians to either preserve their old folkways or to adjust to the new ways. One section is entirely devoted to the Lumbees in Baltimore.

All in all, this is the best introduction to Maryland's Indians in print, and it is a credit to Dr. Porter's expertise on the subject.

GARY BROWNE

UMBC

A Guide to the Baltimore Stage in the Eighteenth Century: A History and Day Book Calendar. Comp. and ed. by David Ritchey. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982. Pp. 342. Indexed. \$35.00.)

As Baltimore grew from a town to a city during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, its cultural activities kept apace. Lacking the Calvinist constraint that hampered theatrical productions in other cultural centers, Baltimo-

reans welcomed dramatic companies. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the wealth and sophistication of the city could support two performing groups at the same time. Ritchey's guide chronicles that expansion.

Shortly after the appearance of the first permanent acting troupe in America—the Maryland Company of Comedians—chose Baltimore as its base in 1781, the first theater building was constructed in the city; a second one opened in the midst of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. In his forty-three page introduction Ritchey briefly describes the history of the performances, the operation of the theaters, and the difficulties faced by the various companies that appeared, reporting, when the information is available, on the critical reviews and audience reaction. He carries the story of the Baltimore stage, including "strolling players, amateur performers, and experienced actors," to the end of the eighteenth century.

The meat of the book is in the "Day Book" of performances, a chronological listing of theatrical productions presented in Baltimore between 1772 and 1800, arranged by theater, with company names, titles of plays, listings of casts and musicians, intermission entertainments, changes made in subsequent performances, and, occasionally, a note on box office receipts. The location of extant playbills are added. A Play Index at the end catalogs the performance dates for every play performed in the city. He has also included separate Playwright and Player Indexes.

This is a useful reference tool compiled by a scholar who has been investigating and publishing articles about the Baltimore stage and the American theater for many years. Two articles have appeared in this magazine. The "Day Book" is the first comprehensive guide to the early Baltimore theater and thus another helpful aid for anyone embarking on a study of American theater practices.

The guide will also help to dispel the peculiar notion that this state has been a cultural wasteland. It thus adds to the growing number of volumes dealing with the intellectual and aesthetic life of the Chesapeake Bay area.

ELAINE G. BRESLAW
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Everybody Works but John Paul Jones. By Mame and Marion E. Warren. (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1981. Pp. 121. \$19.95.)

Mame and Marion E. Warren have compiled a photographic portrait of the U. S. Naval Academy from 1845 to 1915 which presents a com-

prehensive and carefully selected and edited visual history of the development of that institution. Interspersed among the photographs are reproductions of brief contemporary periodical accounts of interesting occurrences and occasional short vignettes of Academy history. But the format is typically that of a personal album and the photographs are the essence of the book.

It must have required great energy and discrimination to amass this collection which demonstrates quite completely the physical growth of the institution and the changing life and social environment of the midshipmen. The photographs have been excellently reproduced and give much detail of buildings and people, their dress and activities, throughout the years. In some cases, more complete captions would have enhanced the interest of the pictures but perhaps the additional information was unobtainable. Even so, the pictures can stand on their own worth. One or two sketch maps of the layout of the grounds and buildings would have helped, also, to connect past history with the more modern situation.

This book will, of course, be a treasured volume for any naval buff and in addition, be a valuable source of visual information for naval and local historians.

F. E. CHATARD
Maryland Historical Society

Forty Years as a College President: Memoirs of Wilson Elkins. Edited by George H. Callcott. (College Park: University of Maryland, 1981 180 pages. \$11.95.)

He was a college or university president for 40 years, 24 of them at the University of Maryland. He may have awarded more degrees than anyone in the history of American higher education. Yet Dr. Wilson Homer Elkins was never a scholar, good teacher, or outstanding administrator. He was a very bright, amiable, athletic boy raised in a shack behind a country store outside San Antonio who, by rising at 4:30 every morning and working competitively hard in his early life, became a sports hero at the University of Texas, president of the student body, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and a Rhodes Scholar who earned a doctorate at Oxford in 1936 with a paper on British-American trade relations. From 1954 to 1978 he presided over the robust transformation of the University of Maryland from a small, athletic campus to a major multi-campus university, and became one of the senior university presidents in the nation.

George Callcott, a leading historian of Maryland life and politics at the University of Maryland, had the idea of interviewing Wilson Elkins

at length after he retired. The result is this book. It is a charming, informative piece of Americana and a moderately revealing document of Maryland's educational political past. Callcott asks tactful but probing questions, and Elkins answers with a mixture of surprising candor and delicate evasion.

Short and stocky—he was known as “Bull” in his youth—Elkins hoped to be a high school civics teacher or a small town stockbroker. But time after time, fate lifted him to higher stations. As the book reveals fully, this genial, gentlemanly administrator seldom sought fame or greatness and preferred decency and relaxed cordiality with his beloved family, his friends, and able, sound professors and students. President Elkins often ate lunch alone, and let the academic departments “determine what happens in the University.” He liked order, predictability: “I’ve always worked pretty much on a schedule,” and “I could never get along very well with people who were somewhere out in left field. . . . I was looking for people who could get along with their associates here.”

This brief book contains some fine revelations

such as how Dr. Elkins came to the attention of the Board of Regents, how officials saw the University's tiny Eastern Shore campus after the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision, why UMBC came to be built where it is, and some observations about Maryland's governors. But the book's main achievement is the remarkable portrait of Wilson Elkins the man, which Elkins paints in his own words. Characteristically, the words are honest, guarded, undistinguished, and strongly moving. And fascinating, because in the book we slowly discover that this distinguished Maryland education leader was at bottom not a man of books, politics, ideas, social awareness, planning, arts and sciences, or bold management but a lovely, simple, unassuming person to whom life and historical forces have been extraordinarily kind, somewhat like Dwight Eisenhower or Governor Millard Tawes. “In the final analysis,” he says, “a good life depends on personal things, on family and friends.”

GEORGE KELLER
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

NEWS AND NOTICES

CALL FOR PAPERS

1984 marks the 350th anniversary of the settling of Maryland. In celebration, *The Maryland Historian* is planning a special issue on the history of Maryland for its summer 1984 issue. Papers are being accepted on all facets of Maryland history. The deadline for manuscripts is March 1, 1984. Inquiries and manuscripts should be addressed to Editor, *The Maryland Historian*, Department of History, Francis Scott Key Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Agricultural History Society, University of Missouri-Columbia, and Soil Conservation Service announce a symposium on the history of soil and water conservation at Columbia, Missouri, May 24-26, 1984. Susan Flader of the university and Douglas Helms of SCS are the symposium coordinators. Please submit proposals and requests for information to Douglas Helms, Historian, SCS-USDA, P.O. Box 2890, Washington, D.C. 20013, by September 10, 1983.

UNION CHAPEL—150th Anniversary Celebration

Celebrating the 150th anniversary of the Execution of the Deed of Trust from Charles D. Warfield to the original Board of Trustees of Union Chapel in 1833 will be the descendants of that Board, members of the present official body, the two oldest living Trustees and community friends.

The date of July 9, 1833 appears on the original deed and, therefore, appropriately will be recognized on Saturday, July 9, 1983 at the site

of the restored chapel at the intersection of Route 97, known as Georgia Avenue extended, and Union Chapel Road in Glenwood, Maryland. The ceremony will begin at three o'clock in the afternoon with musical selections and recognition of the Trustees and Honored Guests. Featured speaker will be Louis L. Goldstein, Comptroller of the Treasury of the State of Maryland.

Mrs. Blanche Howes and Mrs. Sallye Ridgely will receive special presentations as the oldest living trustees of Union Chapel. The original Board names reflect historic Maryland families whose land holdings and accomplishments are significant in the annals of state and county records: James B. Matthews, Gustavus Warfield, Thomas Hood, Mortimer Dorsey, John H. Owings, Slingsby Linthicum, Benjamin Hood, Philemon Dorsey and Hezekiah Linthicum.

The 1833 description of the property refers to the transfer in 1810 from Caleb Dorsey to Dr. Charles A. Warfield of said land, known as "Dependence", located on the Westminster to Georgetown Road in Howard County. This was the primary north-south corridor of travel from the bustling harbor of Georgetowne to the rural supply community of Westminster in Carroll County.

The public is invited to unite with the celebrants at Union Chapel for this historic event. On Sunday, July 10th, a special religious service will be conducted at three o'clock honoring all those who served the Methodist circuit, of which Union Chapel was an integral part in the early 1800's. The ecumenical recognition will be held within the restored chapel and honor those who have diligently labored to preserve this unique part of our religious heritage.

Present officers are Warren Sargent, President; Carville Colins, Secretary; and William P. Brendel, Treasurer.

MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE



Which well-known Baltimore hotel is depicted here and when was the photograph taken? In your answer, please let us know how you identified the image.

In each issue of Maryland Picture Puzzle, we show a photograph from the Maryland Historical Society collection. The photograph is, in some way, puzzling. We would like you to test

your visual skills and knowledge of Maryland in identifying it. Please send your solution to the Prints and Photos editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. We were so pleased with the

answers we received to the Spring 1983 Puzzle that, starting with the Summer 1983 Puzzle, the responder with the most complete answer will receive an 8X10 photograph of the Puzzle image.

The street corner depicted in the Spring 1983 Puzzle is that of Centre and Hunter (then called Davis) Streets. The building in the lower right

corner was the Northern Central Railroad freight depot. The date is circa 1905. The photograph was taken from the Centre Street platform of the Lake Roland Elevated Railway. (Identification by Mr. Randolph Chalfant, Baltimore.)



HISTORICAL
PROGRAM

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ROADSIDE HISTORIC MARKERS FROM AROUND THE STATE

THE ✓ ROADSIDE ✓ HISTORICAL MARKER PROGRAM

This program began in a small way in 1932 when the State Roads Commission erected several markers, one of the first of which was to commemorate the bicentennial of Washington resigning his commission as commander-in-chief of our Revolutionary Army.

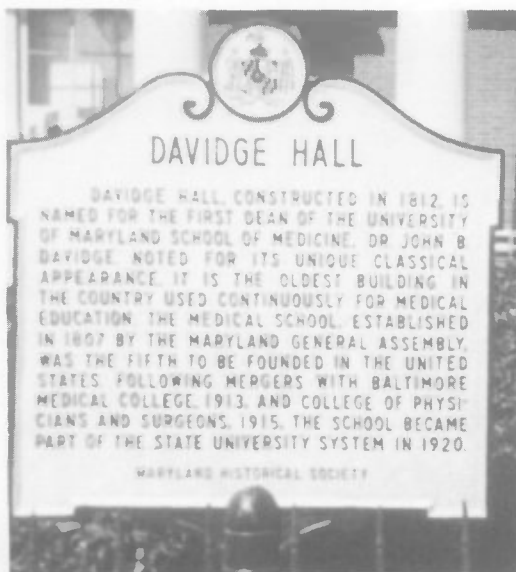
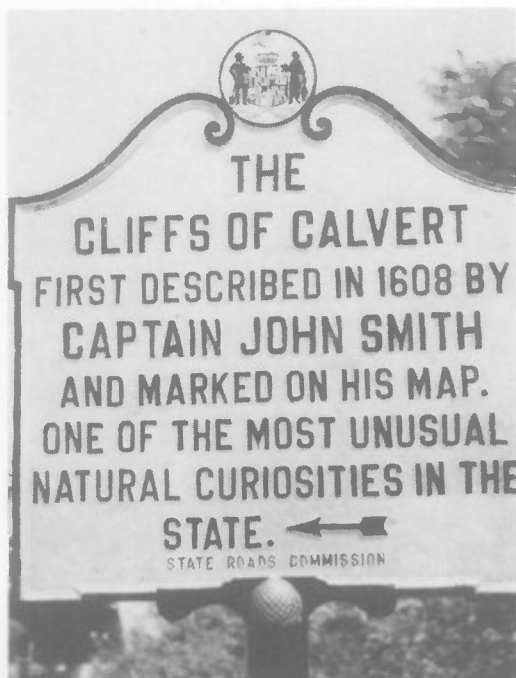
The first really serious implementation of the program began in the tercentenary year of 1934 under the impetus of Mr. J. Alexis Shriver, the first director of the program and a member of the Maryland Historical Society, and continued until the outbreak of World War II.

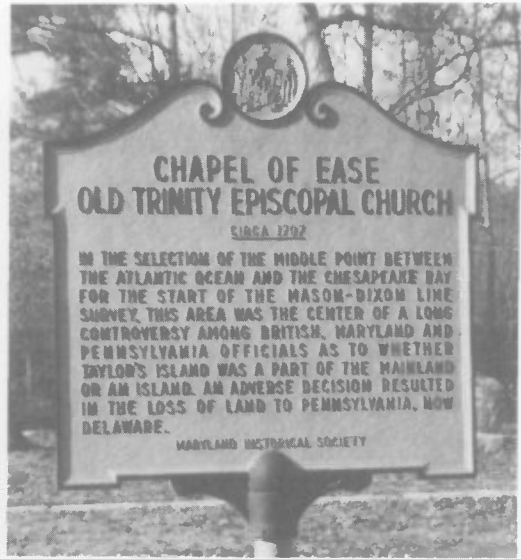
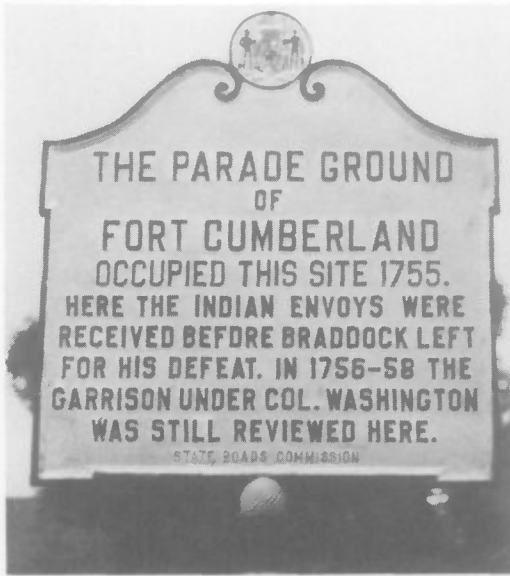
Still funded by the State Roads Commission, the program resumed in 1952 under the direction of Mr. J. Harry Scarff who continued in that capacity until 1956.

There were approximately 300 markers in existence at that time, funded as before by the State Roads Commission at a cost of \$100 each, only a fraction of the present cost, but Mr. Robert O. Bonnell, Sr., Chairman of that Commission, felt that road money should not be used for this purpose.

It was also generally felt that the Maryland Historical Society was, by its nature, the proper vehicle for doing full justice to the subject, especially in separating facts from fiction when memorializing people, places and events and so, in 1958, under direct grant from the State to the Society for the program, Mr. Harold Manakee who was Director of the Maryland Historical Society also became Director of the Marker Program on a part-time basis.

Finding that his principal duties as Director of the Society kept him from doing justice to both endeavors, Manakee arranged to have Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins succeed him in 1963. Mr. Hopkins served until 1965 when Mr. Manakee again took over the reins and with the invaluable assistance of Beta, his wife, proceeded to un-





dertake the much-needed reorganization of the program.

Mr. Frank Somerville took over direction of the historical markers in 1974, and for the next seven years the program grew and flourished under his dedicated direction.

Somerville is the author of the standard application for new markers, which, while it may seem to some applicants somewhat long and ponderous, allows for and covers almost any conceivable contingency which might arise in the process of achieving our goal of unquestioned historically accurate inscriptions on every plaque for which the Society shares sponsorship.

During Mr. Somerville's regime, the number of markers has risen to nearly 600, but with the ravages of time, theft, vandalism, and acts of God, some fifty to seventy

have disappeared and although a number have been replaced, this remains a problem with no ready solution.

With the guidance of Mr. Somerville and with the full cooperation of our County Coordinator, Mr. Alfred Matthews, Francis Marbury has taken over the directorship of the program and with the Old Line State's 350th birthday rapidly approaching and the growing interest in our heritage, as witnessed by the increase in inquiries about the program, he looks forward to a busy year.

Mr. Somerville's comprehensive manual and guide with directions to all the markers throughout the State will be available in 1984 and should be of invaluable assistance to all lovers of Maryland's proud history.

CORRECTION

The Spring 1983 issue of the *Magazine* inadvertently listed the location of the Frazier's Chapel historic marker as Calvert County. The correct location is, of course, Caroline County. The *Magazine* regrets the error.